Godfrey Faussett, L.L.

THE

WORKS

OF

TACITUS.

WITH

POLITICAL DISCOURSES

UPON THAT

AUTHOR,

BY

THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

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THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK V.

The SUMMARY.

The expedition of Titus *againſt Judæa and Jeruſalem. The original of the Jewiſh Nation deduced, with their religion and cuſtoms. The ſtrength and ſituation of the City and Temple. The progreſs of the war in Germany. Divers encounters between* Cerialis *and* Civilis. *Peace enſues.*

The reſt of this book is loſt.

IN the beginning of the ſame year the Emperor's ſon Titus was by his father appointed to accompliſh the reduction of Judæa; a captain who had been ſignal in war whilſt his father and he were no other than ſubjects, but now bore command with greater ſway and renown, as in zeal and good offices towards him the Provinces and the Armies were ſtriving for priority. He moreover, in order to be thought to ſurpaſs his fortune, was continually

preſenting himſelf to view, ſplendid in arms and alert for war, continually alluring his men to their duty by complaiſance and kind words; nay, he uſually thruſt himſelf amongſt the common ſoldiers, whether they worked or marched, but ſtill preſerved undebaſed the dignity of a General. In Judæa he was received by three Legions, the fifth, tenth and fifteenth, men who had long ſerved under Veſpaſian. Syria too furniſhed him with the twelfth, as alſo with thoſe of the twenty-firſt and the third drawn from Alexandria. There accompanied him twenty Cohorts of our allies, eight ſquadrons of horſe, as alſo the Kings Agrippa and Sohemus, a body of auxiliaries from King Antiochus, and a band of Arabs natural enemies to the Jews, through an antipathy uſual between contiguous nations. To him there repaired many out of Italy, many from Rome, all excited by their particular hopes of poſſeſſing the young prince whilſt yet free from new engagements. With theſe forces he entered the enemies territories, marching in battle array, ſending to gain intelligence on every ſide, and holding himſelf ready for an encounter, then encamped near Jeruſalem.

But ſince I am going to recount the final doom of a City ſo famed, it ſeems pertinent to explain its antiquity and riſe. It is a tradition, 'That the 'Jews, as fugitives from the iſland of Crete, at the 'time when Saturn, expulſed by the violence of 'Jupiter, forſook his kingdom, ſettled themſelves 'upon the extremities of Lybia.' For proof of this, their name is alledged: 'For that in Crete 'ſtands the celebrated mountain *Ida*, and the '*Ideans* natives of the mountain, by a barbarous 'extenſion of the name, are called Judæans (Jews).' Some hold, 'That Ægypt ſwarming with people 'beyond meaſure, during the reign of *Iſis*, to re-'lieve itſelf, poured a great multitude into the 'regions adjoining, under the leading of *Hieroſo-*

'*lymus*

'*lymus* and *Juda*.' Many take them, 'to be 'deſcended from the Æthiopians, and to have been, 'through their dread and hate of King Cepheus, 'forced to ſeek a new habitation.' There are authors who ſay, 'That they were a band of people 'from Aſſyria, who wandering and deſtitute of 'land, occupied a portion of Ægypt, anon had 'cities of their own, and poſſeſſed the territories of 'the Hebrews, with the confines of Syria.' Others aſſign the Jews a nobler foundation and pedigree, 'as derived from the *Solymites*, a nation celebrated 'by the poet Homer, and founders of Jeruſalem, 'a City which from them had its name.' In one account a number of writers concur, 'That when 'Ægypt was over-run by a peſtilent diſeaſe, con-'taminating living bodies, and very foul to behold, 'Bocchoris the King applying for a remedy to the 'Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, was ordered to purge 'his kingdom, and to remove into another country 'that generation of men ſo deteſted by the Deities.' Hence, when they were all ſearched out, and the multitude thus ſwept together, were carried into the immenſe deſarts, and there abandoned; whilſt all continued wailing under aſtoniſhment and deſpair, *Moſes*, one of theſe exiles, exhorted them, 'To 'entertain no hopes of relief from Gods or men, 'ſince both by Gods and men they had been for-'ſaken, but in himſelf to truſt as to a Leader ſent 'from Heaven, one by whoſe aid they ſhould van-'quiſh their preſent miſery and diſtreſs.' They aſſented, and, utterly ignorant of whatever was to befall them, began to journey on at random. But nothing aggrieved them ſo ſorely as want of water: Already they were lying ſcattered over the plains, ready to periſh, when a flock of wild aſſes, leaving their paſture, climbed up a rocky mountain covered with a thick wood. Moſes followed them, forming a conjecture from the ſingular verdure of the

herbage, and there discovered some large springs. This proved their solacement and relief, and traveling for six days without intermission, on the seventh they gained a settlement by exterminating the inhabitants. There they raised their City, there founded and dedicated their Temple.

Moses, to ensure the subjection of the nation to himself for ever, established religious ordinances altogether new, and opposite to those of all other men and countries. Whatever we esteem holy, is with them profane. Again, they permit many things as lawful, which to us are forbidden and impure. The statue of the beast by whose guidance they stayed their thirst and wandering, they consecrated in the sanctuary of their Temple, with the solemn immolation of a Ram, in contumely to *Jupiter Hammon*. The Ox too is what they sacrifice, a creature which the Ægyptians worship for the God *Apis*. From feeding on swine they refrain, in memory of their former calamity; for that they had once been infected and defiled with the same leprous tumors and eruptions to which that animal is subject. The famine which once they so long endured, they still acknowledge and commemorate by frequent fastings: And, as a standing proof of their having by robbery supplied themselves with grain, the Jewish bread is still baked without leaven. It is said, that they chuse to rest every seventh day, because then ended their labours. Afterwards, through the growth and allurements of laziness, every seventh year too was devoted to sloth. Others hold such observance to be in honour of Saturn; whether it be that from the Ideans, who are said to have been expulsed with Saturn, and to have founded their nation, they derive the elements of their religion, or that, of all the seven Planets by which this earth is governed, that of Saturn rolls in the highest orb, and possesseth the greatest energy.

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Moreover, moſt of the celeſtial bodies accompliſh their courſe and operation by the number ſeven.

Theſe ceremonies, in whatever way introduced, are by their antiquity maintained. The reſt of their inſtitutions are unhallowed, filthy, and from their depravity only drew their influence. For here from every quarter all who were moſt profligate and wicked, accumulated tribute and rich offerings, rejecting the worſhip and divinities of their own country. Hence the encreaſe and improvement of the Jewiſh State, as alſo becauſe they are inflexible in their faith and adherence to one another, and prone to mutual acts of compaſſion; but towards the whole human race beſides they retain deadly and implacable hate. With all others they refuſe to eat, with all others to lodge; nay, they who are a people abandoned to ſenſuality, avoid the embraces of all foreign women. Amongſt themſelves nothing is accounted unlawful. They inſtituted circumciſion on purpoſe to be diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar mark. The ſame is aſſumed by their proſelytes; and the earlieſt leſſon which theſe are taught, is to deſpiſe the Deities, to renounce all love to their country; and for their parents, for their brethren, and children, to entertain no tenderneſs or conſideration. Yet to the multiplying of their nation regard is had. For, beſides that to kill their infants is thought a heinous ſin, they ſuppoſe the ſouls of ſuch as die in battle, or by the hand of juſtice, to be immortal. Hence their paſſion for generation, hence their contempt of dying. They chuſe to interr their dead, rather than to burn them, according to the uſage of the Ægyptians. With theſe they concur in their notions of an infernal world; but far different is their perſuaſion about things celeſtial. The Ægyptians offer worſhip divine to ſeveral brute animals, to images and the works of art. The Jews know but one Deity, to be con-

ceived and adored by the mind only. 'For profane and unhallowed they hold all ſuch as out of 'materials mortal and periſhing, uſe to faſhion 'their Gods after the likeneſs of men;' they hold 'that the Divine Being, eternal and ſupreme, is 'incapable of all change, incapable of ever ending.' In their Cities therefore no Images are ſeen, ſo far are they from allowing ſuch in their Temples. This is a compliment which they pay not to their Kings, this an honour which they deny to the Cæſars. Yet, as their Prieſts uſed to chant to the ſound of pipes and drums, as their brows were bound with ivy, and as in the Temple a golden vine was found, ſome have inferred that they worſhipped Bacchus, conqueror of the Eaſt; though void of all reſemblance are their inſtitutions to his. For, jovial and gay were the ſolemnities eſtabliſhed by Bacchus: The Jewiſh rituals are prepoſterous and rueful.

Their territories, where they ſtretch Eaſtward, are bounded by Arabia: to the South lies Ægypt; to the Weſt, Phœnicia and the ſea: Northward they are by a long frontier joined to Syria. The bodies of the men are hale, ſuch as can endure hardſhip and labour. They have rarely any rain. The ſoil is fruitful and rich. In all the fruits of the earth which are common with us, they abound; and beſides theſe they enjoy the palm tree and that of the balm. The palms are lofty and beautiful. The balm is a ſmall tree: When its branches ſwell, if you pierce them with ſteel, the veins ſhrink with ſhyneſs, and refuſe to flow: They are therefore opened by a ſhell or the ſplint of a ſtone. The liquor is uſed for a medicine. Above all their mountains that of Libanus riſes to a prodigious height, and what is wonderful to be told, amidſt ſuch exceſſive heats is covered thick with eternal ſnow. From this mountain the river Jordan derives its ſource and ſtream. Neither falls the Jordan into the

the ſea, but paſſing firſt through one lake, then through another, ſtill preſerving its waters unmixt, is ſwallowed up in the third. This lake is vaſt in compaſs, reſembling a ſea, in taſte more nauſeous, and by its noiſom vapour and ſmell baneful to the adjacent inhabitants. Neither is it ruffled by any wind: Nor fiſh nor water-fowl does it ſuffer to live. Whatever bodies are caſt upon the ſtagnate flood, it bears like a ſolid ſurface: Alike borne up are all ſuch who can ſwim and ſuch who cannot. At a certain ſeaſon of the year it ejects pitch. The art of gathering this, as well as all other arts, experience has taught. The liquid ſubſtance naturally black, and congealed, by ſprinkling it with vinegar, emerges and floats. Such as are appointed to collect it, take it like a rope with their hand and guide it to the upper part of the ſhip. From thence it continues flowing in without help, and fills the veſſel, till you cut off the communication; neither can you cut it off with an inſtrument of iron or braſs. It recoils only when touched with blood, and from cloaths tainted with menſtrual purgations. This is what ancient authors relate. But the writers acquainted with the country, recount, that theſe huge heaps of pitch lying upon the ſurface, are either driven to the ſhore, or dragged thither by the help of hands; that anon, when ſufficiently baked by vapours from the Land, and by the reflections and ſtrength of the Sun, they are rent and divided with hatchets and wedges.

Not far hence lye the deſart plains, ſuch as they report to have been of old a country fruitful and flouriſhing, and full of populous cities, but conſumed by lightning and thunderbolts; they add, that ſtill remaining are the traces and monuments of ſuch deſolation, and that the ſoil itſelf looks ſcorched, and has ever ſince loſt its fructifying force. For, all vegetables found here, be the ſame ſpontaneouſly

produced, or reared by man, whether ſmall herbs or flowers, as ſoon as they attain their ordinary growth and form, prove black and arid, devoid of ſubſtance, and diſſipate as it were into cinders. To ſpeak my own ſentiments, as I would allow cities once very great and ſignal to have been burnt by fire from Heaven; ſo I conceive that by exhalations from the lake the ſoil is infected, and the ambient air poiſoned, and that thence the grain and all the fruits of the harveſt are putrified and blaſted, ſince equally malignant is the earth and the clime. Moreover, into the ſea of Judæa the river Belus diſcharges itſelf: The ſands gathered at its mouth are, with a mixture of nitre, melted into glaſs. This is but a narrow ſhore, yet by ſuch as are daily draining it of its ſands, found to be inexhauſtible.

The larger part of Judæa conſiſts in villages ſcattered up and down. They have likewiſe cities. Jeruſalem is the Capital of the nation. Here ſtands the Temple, immenſely wealthy, and proves to the City one of its ſtrongeſt bulwarks. To all foreigners the inner Temple is ſhut; nor to a Jew is there acceſs beyond the portal. From entering all men are excluded, except the Prieſts. Whilſt the Empire of the Eaſt was poſſeſſed by the Aſſyrians, next by the Medes and Perſians, the Jews were held the moſt deſpicable of all the enſlaved nations. Afterwards when the Macedonian power prevailed, King Antiochus laboured to extinguiſh their ſuperſtition, and to introduce the inſtitutions of Greece, in order to reform in ſome meaſure that hideous and deteſtable nation, but was diverted from this purſuit by a war with the Parthians. For, at this conjuncture had Arſaces revolted. The Jews on this occaſion, whilſt the Macedonians were weakened, the Parthians not yet eſtabliſhed, the Romans then far from them, aſſumed Kings of their own. Theſe were afterwards expulſed through the inconſtancy of the

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populace, but having again ſeized the Sovereignty by arms, let themſelves looſe to all the cruelties and exceſſes uſual to Kings, baniſhed their citizens, deſtroyed cities, murdered their brethren, murdered their wives and parents, and with all this their tyranny, carefully ſupported and nouriſhed the eſtabliſhed ſuperſtition; for to the functions of Royalty they annexed that of the Prieſthood.

Pompey was the firſt Roman that ſubdued the Jews. He, exerciſing the right of a Conqueror, entered their Temple. Thenceforward it was rumoured abroad, 'That within it he had found no 'Images of the Gods, but the reſidence of the Deity 'void of any, and a ſanctuary deſtitute of ſacred 'ſolemnities.' The walls of Jeruſalem were levelled: The holy edifice remained unhurt. Thereafter followed our civil War, and under the juriſdiction of Anthony the eaſtern Provinces fell. Pacorus King of the Parthians then ſeized Judæa, but was ſlain by Ventidius; the Parthians were chaſed over the Euphrates, and the Jews reduced to ſubjection by Caius Soſius. Over them Anthony had ſet Herod for their King, and to him his Kingdom was continued and enlarged by Auguſtus who conquered Anthony. Upon the death of Herod, one Simon, without ever ſtaying for the pleaſure of the Emperor, uſurped the title of King. Upon him Quinctilius Varus, Governor of Syria, inflicted puniſhment; and the Nation, as ſoon as repreſſed and quiet, was committed, under a triple partition, to be ruled by the three ſons of Herod. Under Tiberius they enjoyed perfect repoſe. But in the reign of Caligula, when he ordered them to place his own Image in their Temple, they choſe rather to riſe in arms: A combuſtion which, upon the death of Caligula, ceaſed. Claudius, when the Jewiſh Kings were all deceaſed, at leaſt extremely ſhortened in power, gave Judæa to be ruled as a Province by the

Roman Knights, or by his own Freedmen. Antonius Felix was one of these, one who rioting in the excesses of licentiousness and cruelty, exercised the authority of a King with the spirit and baseness of a slave. He had indeed received in wedlock Drusilla, grand-daughter to Anthony and Cleopatra: Insomuch that whilst the Emperor was Mark Anthony's grandson, Felix his manumised slave was married to the grand-daughter of that very Mark Anthony.

The Jews, however, bore their oppression with patience till the time of Gessius Florus, who governed them with the title of Imperial Procurator. Under him a war arose; and Cestius Gallus, Governor of Syria, trying to crush it, in all his encounters with the revolters found the issue at best doubtful, frequently disastrous. Upon the death of Gallus, whether it happened through the course of nature, or through melancholy and regret, the charge was by Nero transferred upon Vespasian, who, favoured by his good fortune and great fame, and served by excellent officers and assistants, in the space of two summers with his victorious army possessed the whole country and all the cities besides Jerusalem. The year following was employed in the civil War, and to the Jews proved altogether pacific. When at home in Italy peace ensued, with it the care of affairs abroad revived. What heightened the public indignation was, that of all nations the Jews only refused to submit. It was withal judged more politic and secure, that Titus should continue at the head of armies, to be ready against all the events and casualties incident to a new reign. Having therefore encamped, as I have related, near the walls of Jerusalem, he displayed his Legions in array.

Under the very walls the Jews embattled their host, ready to adventure further, were their efforts

ſucceſsful, and truſting to a refuge at hand, were they repulſed. Againſt them the cavalry were ſent, with ſome cohorts lightly armed, but left the iſſue of the conflict doubtful. Afterwards the enemy retired, and on the ſubſequent days maintained frequent ſkirmiſhes juſt without the gates, till by continual loſſes they were forced within their walls. Theſe the Romans reſolved to ſtorm. For honourable it ſeemed not, to await their reduction by famine. Nay, the army ſought to encounter dangers, ſome from magnanimity, many from impetuoſity, or for the recompences attending victory. Titus himſelf was ſetting Rome before his eyes, with all the opulence and many pleaſures there, and it ſeemed tedious to wait for the enjoyment of theſe, unleſs Jeruſalem were razed without all delay. But ſteep and high was the ſituation of the City, and fortified beſides with works and ramparts, ſuch as would have proved a ſufficient defence to a place even ſtanding in a plain. There were two hills immenſely high and encloſed by a wall built purpoſely crooked, with angles and windings, whence the flanks of the aſſailants might be expoſed to be galled by the beſieged. The extremities of the rock were ſharp and inacceſſible. They had alſo great towers, ſome built upon the ſummit and raiſed ſixty foot high, others upon the declenſions of the hills mounting up to an hundred and twenty foot, both ſorts beautiful and marvellous to behold, and to ſuch as viewed them at a diſtance, all appearing equal in height. Within the City there were other walls ſurrounding the palace, with the tower *Antonia* exceeding ſtately and conſpicuous, called ſo by Herod in honour to Anthony.

The Temple was raiſed like a great caſtle, encloſed with fortifications of its own, in ſtructure and ſtrength ſuperior to all the others. Even the Portals and Cloiſters built round the Temple were a

noble Fortreſs. With water they were ſupplied from a fountain which never waxed dry. The mountains were all ſcooped into caverns. There were many pools and ciſterns for preſerving the rain. From the ſingularity of the Jewiſh inſtitutions, different from thoſe of all other nations, they who founded the City had foreſeen that frequent wars would accrue. Hence no precaution, no defence had been omitted proper for ſuſtaining a ſiege, however long. And as they had been already ſacked by Pompey, fear and experience had enlightened them in many inſtances. Beſides, ſuch had been the venality of the reign of Claudius, that they had then procured with money a right to rebuild their walls, which they built ſo ſtrong during peace, as if they had had nothing in view but war. Mighty was the multitude there, and greatly augmented by the deſtruction of the other cities, ſince from theſe had fled hither, all the moſt turbulent and reſolute; and thence amongſt them the more diſcord and ſedition prevailed. Three Commanders there were, and as many Armies. Simon guarded the extent and circuit of the walls: John, whom they ſirnamed Bargioras, commanded the heart of the City: Eleazar maintained the Temple. In multitudes and arms John and Simon ſurpaſſed; in ſituation Eleazar. But amongſt themſelves there prevailed mutual ſlaughter and battles, circumvention and ambuſh, with the fury and devaſtation of fire, whence mighty ſtore of grain was utterly conſumed. John next employed certain aſſaſſins, under colour of performing ſacrifice, to butcher Eleazar and his whole band, and thus gained poſſeſſion of the Temple. In this manner the City was rent into two factions, till, upon the approach of the Romans, war from without produced concord within.

There had happened omens and prodigies, things which that nation ſo addicted to ſuperſtition, but ſo averſe

averſe to the Gods, hold it unlawful to expiate either by vows or victims. Hoſts were ſeen to encounter in the air, refulgent arms appeared; and, by a blaze of lightning ſhooting ſuddenly from the clouds, all the Temple was illuminated. The great gates of the Temple were of themſelves in an inſtant thrown open, and a voice more than human heard to declare, that 'the Gods were going to de-'part.' There followed withal a huge ſtir and tumult, as reſulting from their motion and departure: Wonders from which ſome few found cauſe of dread. Many were under a ſtrong perſuaſion, that in the ancient books kept by their Prieſts, a Prophecy was contained, 'That at this very time the 'power of the Eaſt would prevail, and out of Judæa 'ſhould ſpring ſuch as were to rule over all nations:' A prophetic riddle, by which Veſpaſian and Titus were prefigured. But the populace, according to the uſual fondneſs and credulity of human wiſhes, conſtrued to themſelves all this mighty fortune reſerved by fate, inſomuch that even by their ſevere ſufferings and diſaſters they could not be reclaimed to truth and their underſtandings. The number of the beſieged of all ages and both ſexes, we learn to have been ſix hundred thouſand. Arms were borne by all who were able: Nay, there were more who adventured upon arms, than even from a multitude ſo vaſt could have been expected. In men and women was found an equal obſtinacy to reſiſt, and (if they were indeed doomed to change their native country) a greater dread of ſurviving than of periſhing. Againſt this ſtrong City and this ſtubborn people, Titus determined to proceed by mounds and machines of battery, ſince ſuch was the ſituation as to be proof againſt ſtorming and the ſudden efforts of an army. Amongſt the Legions their ſeveral taſks and employments were parted, and all combating ceaſed, till they were prepared to proſecute the

ſiege by every engine and art either deviſed by the ancients, or lately invented, for the attacking and reduction of cities.

Now Civilis, who after this diſaſtrous fight in the region of the Treverians, had repaired his army by ſupplies in Germany, pitched his camp in the old entrenchments: For he meant to ſecure himſelf by the ſituation and defence of the place, and to heighten the courage and ferocity of the Barbarians with the memory of their former exploits there. Thither Cerialis followed him, with forces now doubled, by the acceſſion of the ſecond, the ſixteenth and the fourteenth Legions. Moreover the auxiliary Cohorts and Squadrons of horſe, who were long ſince called to his aſſiſtance, had after the victory made great ſpeed to join him. Both the Leaders were far from ſlowneſs or affecting delays: But the fields, very large, and naturally marſhy, obſtructed them. Civilis too had by a great damm diverted the courſe of the Rhine, which thence flooded all the neighbouring grounds. This was the quality of the place, very dangerous and deceitful from the uncertainty of the depths and ſhallows, and to the Romans brought notable damage. For our ſoldiers were heavily armed and fearful of ſwimming: The Germans, beſides their being accuſtomed to rivers, were ſo lightly armed and ſo tall, that they eaſily kept themſelves above the water. Under this unequal condition, as the Batavians began to inſult us, all the moſt reſolute amongſt our men were provoked to the onſet: But a general conſternation enſued, when in the deep pools, horſes and arms were ſeen ſwallowed up. The Germans, who knew the ſhallows, bounded hither and thither, but generally avoiding a direct attack, beſet us in the flank and rear. Neither was it a cloſe encounter as between armies of foot, but, as in a naval combat, they engaged at random, ſtraggling in the waters: Or

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where any firm footing was found, there grappling and contending man to man with all their might, the ſound with the maimed, ſuch as were ſkilled in ſwimming with ſuch as could not ſwim, were reciprocally involved in perdition. Smaller, however, was the ſlaughter than uſual in confuſion ſo great; for that the Germans not daring to venture out of the marſhes, returned to their camp. By the iſſue of this engagement each of the Leaders was prompted, though from different operations of ſpirit, to quicken the deciſion of the whole cauſe by a general battle, Civilis paſſionate to purſue his good fortune, Cerialis to cancel his diſhonour. The Germans were fierce and bold upon ſucceſs; the Romans were rouſed by ſhame. Amongſt the Barbarians the night was ſpent in ſhouting or in ſongs, with us in rage and menaces.

The next morning Cerialis furniſhed his front with the Cavalry and auxiliary Cohorts: Behind them were ranged the Legions: With himſelf he reſerved a choice body againſt all emergencies. Civilis extended not his forces in a line, but formed them into ſeveral bands. In the right were the Batavians and Gugernians; on the left towards the river ſtood thoſe from beyond the Rhine. The two Generals exhorted not their men by haranguing them in a body, but addreſſed themſelves ſeverally now to theſe, anon to thoſe, as they paſſed through them. Cerialis urged 'the ancient glory of the 'Roman name, their victories of old and of late; 'that ſuch an enemy as this, ſo faithleſs, impotent 'and vanquiſhed, it behoved them to extirpate for 'ever. The preſent was rather a call to inflict 'vengeance than to fight a battle. They had lately 'encountered upon unequal terms, a few againſt 'many; yet the Germans were defeated, they who 'furniſhed the principal ſtrength. There remained 'ſuch only who in their minds retained their late

'rout, and upon their backs their recent wounds.' He next animated the ſeveral Legions with ſtimulations proper for each. Thoſe of the fourteenth 'he ſtiled the conquerors of Britain. By the ſixth 'Galba had been created Emperor. To the ſecond 'this was the firſt battle, and in it they were about 'to initiate and hallow their freſh banners and their 'new Eagle.' From thence paſſing to the German army, with upliſted hands he reminded them to 'reconquer at the expence of the enemy's blood, 'their own poſt upon the Rhine, and their own entrenchments.' By the whole were returned ſhouts chearful and confident, as well from ſuch as tired with long peace, wiſhed to fight, as from thoſe who longed for peace through wearineſs of war; and thereafter they hoped for rewards and repoſe.

Neither was the hoſt of Civilis embattled in ſilence. For a witneſs of their magnanimity he appealed to the very field of battle; 'That upon 'the traces and monuments of their own glory ſtood 'the Germans and Batavians, trampling upon the 'bones and aſhes of the Legions. Here to the 'eyes of the Romans, whitherſoever they turned 'them, nothing was preſented but their own captivity, ſlaughter, calamity and direful omens. Nor 'muſt they be daunted by the variable iſſue of the 'conflict in the Treverian territories. The Germans had there found an obſtacle from their own 'victory, whilſt quitting their weapons they embarraſſed themſelves with plunder. Preſently after 'all things proved propitious, but to the enemy 'croſs and unfortunate. Whatever meaſures the 'wit of a General was capable of concerting, he 'had concerted; the fields were overflowed and 'marſhy, places familiar and ſafe to themſelves, 'and there were pools pernicious to the enemy; 'the Rhine in full view with the Gods of Germany: 'Under their favour and influence divine they were

'now

'now to advance to battle, mindful of their wives, 'mindful of their parents and their country. Either 'very glorious would this day prove, worthy to be 'numbered with thoſe of their anceſtors, or black 'and ignominious to all poſterity.' When, by the clangor of their arms, and by beating the ground with their feet (ſuch is the cuſtom of the Nation) they had applauded his ſpeech, they began the charge with ſtones, leaden balls, and other miſſive weapons. For, as our men forbore entering the marſh, the Germans were thus provoking them to enter.

When the flying weapons were waſted, and the battle waxed hot, the enemy ruſhed on with deadly rage, and with their huge bodies and long ſpears, at arms length gored our ſoldiers ſliding and tumbling in the ſlippery marſh. At the ſame time the band of Bructerians came ſwimming over from the great damm, which I have mentioned to have been raiſed in the channel of the Rhine. Where they attacked, diſorder enſued, and the body of Cohorts were recoiling, when the Legions ſuſtained the combat, and having ſtayed the fury of the enemy, rendered the conflict equal.

During this a Batavian who had deſerted to the Romans, applied to Cerialis, and aſſured him 'of 'an opportunity of falling upon the enemy in the 'rear, if ſome cavalry were ſent away to the ex-'tremity of the marſh: They would there find firm 'footing as well as ſmall vigilance amongſt the Gu-'gernians, to whom the charge of ſecuring that poſt 'had fallen.' With the deſerter two ſquadrons of horſe were ſent, and ſurrounded the enemy deſtitute of all precaution, and unprepared to reſiſt. When, by the ſhoutings which enſued, this was learnt, the Legions urged the foe in front; the Germans were defeated, and betook themſelves in flight to the Rhine. A complete iſſue of the War that day had ſeen, if our Fleet had haſtened to follow the victory.

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In truth the Cavalry preſſed not after the flying foe, as there fell a ſudden ſtorm of rain, and the night approached.

The next day, the fourteenth Legion was ſent into the higher Province to Annius Gallus: With the tenth from Spain the army of Cerialis was ſupplied. To Civilis there came ſuccours from the Chaucians. Yet he ventured not to truſt to arms the defence of the Batavian cities, but, carrying off whatever was moveable, ſet fire to all the reſt, and retired into the Iſland; for he was aware that for forming a bridge the Romans wanted boats, nor in any other manner could their army paſs after him. He even ruined the great damm made by Druſus Germanicus; and thus from the Rhine, whoſe ſtrong current rolls naturally down to Gaul, cauſed an inundation by demoliſhing what had reſtrained it: Inſomuch that when the river was driven, as it were, into another courſe, the channel which parts the Iſland from Germany was ſo ſmall, that the two lands ſeemed contiguous. Over the Rhine too paſſed Tutor and Claſſicus, as alſo an hundred and thirteen Senators of the Treverian State. Of that number was Alpinus Montanus, whom I have heretofore remembered to have been ſent by Antonius Primus into Gaul. There now accompanied him his brother Decimus Alpinus. Theſe and all the reſt, by the force of commiſeration attended with gifts, gathered ſuccours amongſt thoſe nations ſo eager to encounter perils.

Moreover in ſuch ſtrength the war ſtill ſubſiſted, that in one day Civilis made a fourfold aſſault upon our forces, thoſe of our Cohorts, of our Cavalry, nay, of our Legions, lying ſeparate in ſo many garriſons; upon the tenth Legion at Arenacum, upon the ſecond at Batavodurum, and upon the auxiliary Cohorts and Cavalry at Grinnes and Vado. For he had ſo divided his own forces, that he himſelf,

and

and Verax his ſiſter's ſon, and Claſſicus, and Tutor, led each a diſtinct band. Not that he hoped to ſucceed in all theſe attempts, but it was urged, 'That 'whilſt they adventured upon many, fortune would 'prove aſſiſting to them in ſome. Cerialis withal 'exerciſed not ſufficient caution, and might be eaſily 'intercepted, as he was called hither and thither by 'ſeveral meſſengers and alarms.' The party appointed to attack the entrenchments of the tenth Legion, judging it difficult to carry the aſſault againſt ſuch a body, fell upon ſuch of the men who were abroad buſied in cutting of wood, and routed them with the ſlaughter of the Camp-Marſhal, of five Centurions of principal rank, and of ſome few ſoldiers. The reſt defended themſelves within their fortifications. A band of Germans the while were labouring to deſtroy the bridge begun at Batavodurum, where the combat continued doubtful, till night parted the combatants.

Greater was the peril and onſet ſuſtained at Grinnes and Vada. Civilis aſſaulted Vada, as did Claſſicus Grinnes. Nor could their aſſaults be withſtood; for all the men remarkably brave were ſlain. Amongſt theſe fell Briganticus, Commander of a ſquadron of horſe, one whom I before mentioned as faithfully attached to the Romans, and at utter enmity with Civilis his uncle. But when Cerialis, at the head of a choice band of horſe, brought relief, ſuddenly changed was the fortune of the fight, the Germans were routed, and caſt themſelves precipitately into the river. Civilis, whilſt he ſtrove to ſtay the fugitives, was known, and as he was purſued by a volley of darts, relinquiſhed his horſe, and ſwam acroſs. The ſame refuge had the Germans. Tutor and Claſſicus went over in ſkiffs ſent purpoſely to fetch them. Neither again in this engagement was the Roman Fleet preſent to aſſiſt, according to orders ſent them. What reſtrained

ſtrained them was fear; beſides the mariners were diſperſed, attending other military functions. Cerialis had, in truth, allowed them a very ſhort ſpace for executing his orders, as he was ſudden in forming his reſolutions, yet gained ſignal renown from their event. Fortune aided him, even where his conduct failed. Hence in himſelf and his army was found leſs regard for diſcipline. Nay, a very few days after, though he eſcaped the hazard of being taken, he bore the infamy of having incurred it.

He had made a progreſs to Noveſium and Bonn, to viſit the camp raiſed there for wintering the Legions; and was returning by water in a Fleet, which proceeded in a manner very looſe and diſorderly, and the watches were negligently kept. This the Germans obſerved, and deviſed how to circumvent them. They choſe a night very dark and cloudy, and deſcending down the ſtream with great rapidity, entered the lodgments of the ſoldiers upon the ſhore; nor found they a man to oppoſe them. The firſt ſlaughter was forwarded by art and dexterity. They cut the tent-cords, then butchered the men thus entangled and overwhelmed under their own pavilions. Another party embaraſſed the Fleet, grappled the ſhips, and dragged them away. As they had conducted the ſtratagem with univerſal ſilence, ſo, when the carnage was begun, to heighten the terror, they filled the air with inceſſant ſhouts. The Romans, rouſed by their wounds, ſearched for their arms, and run forth in the lanes of the camp, few equipped like ſoldiers, many with their garments wrapped round their arm, and their ſwords drawn. The General half awake, and almoſt naked, eſcaped through the miſtake of the enemy. For they had carried off the Admiral's ſhip, diſtinguiſhed by its ſtandard, from a belief that in it the General was carried. Cerialis paſſed the night elſewhere, as many believed, in the embraces of Claudia Sacrata,

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a native of Cologn. From the diſhonour of their General the watch borrowed an excuſe for their own fault and negligence, for that 'they were enjoined to keep ſilence, for fear of interrupting his repoſe: ſo that, as the uſual word and ſignal had been omitted, and ſpeaking reſtrained, they too had dropped aſleep.' It was open day when the enemy ſailed back with our captive ſhips, and led away the Admiral's galley upon the river Luppia for a preſent to *Veleda*.

Civilis became poſſeſſed with a paſſion to diſplay the power of a naval army. Hence he filled with men whatever gallies there were of one or two banks of oars. To theſe was added a great number of ſkiffs, with pinnaces, ſuch as are wont to carry thirty or forty men, as alſo the ſkiffs which had been lately taken, and for ſails carried mantles of divers colours not unpleaſing to behold. For ranging this his Fleet he choſe a bay ſpacious as a ſea, where the Rhine diſcharges itſelf through the mouth of the Moſelle into the Ocean. The cauſe of forming a Fleet, beſides the vanity inherent in that Nation, was by ſuch a force to prevent and intercept the proviſions which were coming to our army from Gaul. Cerialis, ſtruck with wonder rather than with fear, arrayed his Fleet, in number unequal to that of the enemy, but in expert ſailors, in ſkilful pilots, and in largeneſs of ſhips, far ſurpaſſing. The latter ſailed with the ſtream; the enemy moved before the wind. Thus they advanced, and juſt exchanging ſome flights of darts, paſſed by each other, and parted. Civilis without adventuring any thing further, retired beyond the Rhine. Cerialis ravaged the Iſland of the Batavians like an enemy's country; but, through policy uſual to Generals, left all the lands and dwellings of Civilis untouched; when in the mean while, by the exceſſive and inceſſant rains following the declenſion of autumn, the river overflowed,

flowed, and ſpread over the Iſland naturally low and mooriſh, and now reſembling a great Lake. Neither was the army furniſhed with ſhips or proviſions: Moreover the tents, pitched upon a flat, were toſſed and overborne by the violence of the inundation.

Hence the merit pleaded by Civilis, 'for that the 'Legions might have been deſtroyed, and that the 'Germans deſigned it, but, through his art and ma- 'nagement, had receded.' Nor does it ſeem repugnant to truth, ſince in a few days after he yielded himſelf to the Romans. For, Cerialis employing ſecret agents, whilſt he tempted the Batavians with an offer of peace, Civilis by that of pardon, warned *Veleda* and the nations about her, 'by ſome ſignal 'and ſeaſonable ſervice towards the Roman people, 'to change their own fortune, one ſo diſaſtrous in 'war, and, by ſo many defeats and ſlaughters, found 'to be croſs and calamitous. The Treverians were 'cut off, the Ubians had ſubmitted, the Batavians 'were bereft of their country; nor ought elſe had 'been gained by the friendſhip of Civilis, ſave 'wounds and defeats, expulſion and anguiſh. The 'man was a vagabond and an exile, a ſure burden 'and misfortune to ſuch as received him. Already 'they had tranſgreſſed abundantly in having ſo often 'paſſed the Rhine. If they were ſtill deviſing fur- 'ther efforts and machinations, with themſelves 'would remain the guilt and iniquity, with us juſt 'vengeance and the Gods.' With theſe threatnings promiſes were mixed. And as the faith of thoſe beyond the Rhine was ſhaken and wavered, amongſt the Batavians alſo reaſonings and conferences aroſe, 'That it behoved them to urge no further their 'own ruin; nor was it poſſible for a ſingle nation 'to deliver the whole earth from bondage. What 'had they accompliſhed by ſlaughtering and burn- 'ing the Legions, but only to occaſion the calling 'in of others more numerous and more powerful?

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'If for Veſpaſian the war was waged, Veſpaſian 'was now victorious, and ſettled in ſupreme power. 'But if againſt the Roman people they took arms, 'what an inconſiderable part of human kind were 'the Batavians? They ſhould conſider the nations 'of Rhœtia and Noricum, conſider the burdens and 'impoſitions upon other countries confederate with 'Rome. Upon themſelves no tribute was laid, 'other than to contribute men and magnanimity; 'a condition bordering upon liberty; and if they 'were free to chuſe their ſupreme Lords, they might 'more honourably bear the Emperors of the Ro-'mans than Women ruling the Germans.' Theſe were the deſcantings of the populace. Their Chiefs urged, 'That by the deadly fury of Civilis they had 'been driven headlong into war; a man who for 'the cure of his own domeſtic misfortunes ſought 'the ruin and deſolation of the whole nation. Then 'it was that the Gods became incenſed againſt the 'Batavians, when by the Batavians the Legions 'were beſieged, the Commanders of the Legions 'murdered, and a war begun, neceſſary only to one 'man, to themſelves fatal and deadly. They were 'now reduced to the laſt paſs, and their condition 'deſperate, unleſs they began inſtantly to retrieve 'their underſtanding and innocence, and, by de-'voting to puniſhment the guilty head, manifeſted 'their own remorſe.'

No ſecret to Civilis was this inclination of theirs, and he determined to prevent them. Beſides his anguiſh under a ſeries of evils and diſtreſs, he was influenced by his hopes of life, a paſſion which frequently ſinks very high and haughty ſpirits. As he ſought a conference, the bridge upon the river Wahal was broken down in the middle, and the two Generals ſtepping forwards on each ſide, ſtood upon the oppoſite extremities, and thus Civilis accoſted Cerialis. 'Were I to make my defence be-

'fore

'fore a Lieutenant of Vitellius, neither would par-
'don be due to my deeds, nor credit to my pro-
'feſſions. Between him and me nothing paſſed but
'continual efforts of hoſtility and hate, all begun
'by him, all heightened by me. Towards Veſpa-
'ſian ancient is my obſervance and veneration, and
'whilſt he was a private perſon, we were called
'friends. To Antonius Primus this is well known,
'and by letters from him I was urged to the War,
'to obſtruct the German Legions, and the youth of
'Gaul, from paſſing over the Alps. What Anto-
'nius exhorted me to by letters, what Hordeonius
'Flaccus adviſed me in perſon, I did, and took up
'arms in Germany, ſuch arms as Mucianus took up
'in Syria, Aponius in Mœſia, and Flavianus in
'Pannonia.

The greater Part of the Fifth Book is loſt.

A TREA-

A TREATISE OF THE SITUATION, CUSTOMS, AND PEOPLE OF GERMANY.

To the Right Honourable

J O H N

Lord CARTERET.

My Lord,

AS an acknowledgment of the friendly concern, which during the courſe of this Work Your Lordſhip has been pleaſed conſtantly to ſhew for its accompliſhment and ſucceſs, I beg leave to prefix Your Name to the following Account of Germany, a very curious Treatiſe very beautifully compoſed: a character which none who know Yours will ſuppoſe I give it for your information, but only as the juſt commendation of Tacitus, whoſe genius never fails to ſpirit and embelliſh whatever ſubject he undertakes.

As Your Lordſhip underſtands him thoroughly, and conſequently the difficulty of making him ſpeak any modern Language, (for, how much modern Languages are able to bear, Your Lordſhip likewiſe knows) You will find fewer faults than they who often abound in cenſure without abounding in knowledge. For ſuch generally are the readieſt Cenſurers, as well as the leaſt merciful. This is a conſtant hardſhip upon Authors, though

it be too, in ſome meaſure, their conſolation. Men, at leaſt the bulk of men, are naturally turned rather to blame than to approve, and all who read do, almoſt of courſe, paſs judgment. It is indeed the right of Readers, and muſt therefore be the lot of Writers.

From the many obſervations which I have frequently had the pleaſure of hearing You make upon the Genius, Language and Peculiarities of Tacitus, and about the manner of Tranſlating him, I have likewiſe the pleaſure of knowing Your Lordſhip's opinion to be the ſame with my own, that a common and familiar ſtile would no-wiſe have ſuited either his ideas or his phraſe. He delights in a particular pomp and gravity of thought, in an uncommon brevity and vigour of expreſſion, and it is his talent at once to affect and ſurprize. This is his manner, and he never departs from it. Even where he is abrupt and ſtiff, he pleaſes, nay, pleaſes by being ſo.

They therefore who ſtudy not his manner, will never have ſucceſs in tranſlating his words; nor is it poſſible they ſhould; ſince in writing as well as in ſpeaking, the manner often conveys ſtronger ideas than the words convey. And as it is poſſible for a face to perſuade, when the mouth ſays very little; ſo the turn of a phraſe may have great energy, when the words are not remarkable. The ſame ſentence from two different men moves us not equally, if their manner be different; and their words, though alike, affect us variouſly,

as

as they themſelves ſeem variouſly affected. In the looks of a man of ſenſe, even when he is ſilent, there is obſervation and meaning, ſuch as words ſometimes cannot convey, or can convey but very imperfectly.

It is much like this in writing: even the turn and manner of ſtyle has infinite force; and to avoid ſpeaking out, is often the moſt powerful way of ſpeaking. A half ſentence, a pauſe, or ſudden break, has frequently much more effect than the fulleſt expreſſion, and the roundeſt periods. We ſee ſome men eloquent without perſuaſion, others perſuaſive without eloquence, and a hint or inſinuation from one man more prevalent than long reaſonings from another. So that it is neceſſary to attend to the manner, to the ſpirit of a writer more than to his words, elſe his words will not be very inſtructive. I doubt not but many a man has read over Tacitus, and underſtood every word in him, without underſtanding Tacitus.

Theſe remarks, my Lord, which upon this ſubject occur to me, I addreſs, not to Your Lordſhip, for an obvious reaſon, but to the Public under Your Name, to let the world know that about the method of tranſlating Tacitus Your Lordſhip judges as I do: whence I am the leſs likely to forſake or change this my judgment.

I muſt alſo in another inſtance appeal to Your Lordſhip, and defend myſelf by Your Authority. The Dialogue about *Orators*,

or *concerning the cauſes of the decay of Eloquence*, is by ſome aſcribed to Tacitus, and generally, if not always, bound up with his Works. They who are of this opinion, or follow that of ſuch who are, may expect that I ſhould have tranſlated it with the reſt, as I certainly ſhould, were I not perſuaded that it is none of his.

It is a fine Tract, and the Latin is beautiful; it is very polite, full of good ſenſe, and indeed of eloquence. But though the diſcernment be lively, the expreſſion noble, and the ſenſe ſtrong, it wants the profound touches of Tacitus, and reſembles not his manner. Though it be written with great ſpirit, it is a ſpirit of another ſort than his, which always darts like lightning, and ſtrikes without warning. He would moreover have accounted for the failure of popular eloquence in fewer words, and aſſigned a reaſon of more cogency than all that are mentioned there, though they be there very judiciouſly enumerated. But the principal is hardly touched. There are other conſiderations alſo to be urged againſt aſcribing that Dialogue to Tacitus.

You ſee, my Lord, that inſtead of paying You any compliments, I venture to lay a taſk upon You. But it is the part of a Patron to defend. How well qualified You are to diſcharge ſuch a part, I have long known, and all men allow; nor can it, I hope, be any news to Your Lordſhip to be told, how much I am, and with what very great reſpect, My Lord,

Your moſt Obedient, and moſt Humble Servant,

T. GORDON.

A

TREATISE

OF THE

Situation, Cuſtoms, and People

OF

GERMANY.

THE whole of Germany is thus bounded; it is ſeparated from Gaul, from Rhœtia and Pannonia, by the rivers Rhine and Danube; from Sarmatia and Dacia by mutual fear, or by high mountains: The reſt is encompaſſed by the Ocean, which forms huge bays, and comprehends a tract of iſlands immenſe in extent: For we have lately known certain Nations, and even Kingdoms there, ſuch as the War firſt diſcovered. The Rhine riſing in the Rhœtian Alps from a ſummit altogether rocky and perpendicular, after a ſmall winding towards the Weſt, is loſt in the Northern Ocean. The Danube iſſues out of the mountain Abnoba, one very high, but very eaſy of aſcent; and traverſing ſeveral Nations, falls by ſix ſtreams into the Euxine ſea; for its ſeventh channel is abſorbed in the Fenns.

The Germans, I am apt to believe, derive their original from no other people, and are nowiſe mixed

with different Nations arriving amongſt them: Since anciently thoſe who went in ſearch of new dwellings, travelled not by land, but were carried in fleets; and into that mighty Ocean ſo boundleſs, and, as I may call it, ſo repugnant and forbidding, ſhips from our world rarely enter. Moreover, beſides the dangers from a ſea tempeſtuous, horrid and unknown, who would relinquiſh Aſia, or Africa, or Italy, to repair to Germany, a region hideous and rude, under a rigorous climate, diſmal to behold or to manure; unleſs the ſame were his native country? In their old ballads (which amongſt them are the only ſort of Regiſters and Hiſtory) they celebrate *Tuiſto*, a God ſprung from the earth, and *Mannus* his ſon, as the fathers and founders of the Nation. To *Mannus* they aſſign three ſons, after whoſe names ſo many people are called; the Ingævones, dwelling next the Ocean; the Herminones, in the middle country; and all the reſt, Iſtævones. Some borrowing a warrant from the darkneſs of antiquity, maintain that the God had more ſons; that thence came more denominations of people, the Marſians, Gambrians, Suevians, and Vandelians, and that theſe are the names truly genuine and original. For the reſt, they affirm Germany to be a recent word, lately beſtowed: For that thoſe who firſt paſſed the Rhine, and expulſed the Gauls, and are now named Tungrians, were then called Germans: And thus by degrees the name of a tribe prevailed, not that of the Nation; ſo that by an appellation at firſt occaſioned by terror and conqueſt, they afterwards choſe to be diſtinguiſhed, and aſſuming a name lately invented were univerſally called *Germans*. They have a tradition that Hercules alſo had been in their country, and him above all other heroes they extol in their ſongs, when they advance to battle.

Amongſt them too are found that kind of verſes, by the rec'tal of which (by them called *Barding*) they

they inſpire bravery; nay, by ſuch chanting itſelf they divine the ſucceſs of the approaching fight. For, according to the different din of the battle, they urge furiouſly, or ſhrink timorouſly. Nor does what they utter ſo much ſeem to be ſinging, as the voice and exertion of valour. They chiefly ſtudy a tone fierce and harſh, with a broken and unequal murmur, and therefore apply their ſhields to their mouths, whence the voice may by rebounding ſwell with greater fulneſs and force. Beſides there are ſome of opinion, that Ulyſſes, whilſt he wandered about in his long and fabulous voyages, was carried into this Ocean, and entered Germany; and that by him Aſciburgium was founded and named, a City at this day ſtanding and inhabited upon the bank of the Rhine; nay, that in the ſame place was formerly found an altar dedicated to Ulyſſes, with the name of his farther Laertes added to his own, and that upon the confines of Germany and Rhœtia are ſtill extant certain monuments and tombs inſcribed with Greek characters: Traditions which I mean not either to confirm with arguments of my own, or to refute: Let every one believe or deny the fame according to his own bent. For myſelf, I concur in opinion with ſuch as ſuppoſe the people of Germany never to have mingled by intermarriages with other nations, but to have remained a people pure, and independent, and reſembling none but themſelves. Hence amongſt ſuch a mighty multitude of men, the ſame make and form is found in all, eyes ſtern and blue, yellow hair, huge bodies, but vigorous only in the firſt onſet. Of pains and labour they are not equally patient, nor can they at all endure thirſt and heat. To bear hunger and cold they are hardened by their climate and ſoil.

Their Lands, however ſomewhat different in aſpect, yet, taken all together, conſiſt of gloomy Foreſts, or naſty Marſhes; lower and moiſter towards

the confines of Gaul, more mountainous and windy towards Noricum and Pannonia; very apt to bear Grain, but altogether unkindly to fruit Trees; abounding in Flocks and Herds, but generally ſmall of growth. Nor even in their Oxen is found the uſual ſtatelineſs, no more than the natural ornaments and grandeur of head. In the number of their herds they rejoice, and theſe are their only, theſe their moſt deſirable riches. Silver and Gold the Gods have denied them, whether in mercy or in wrath, I am unable to determine. Yet I would not venture to aver that in Germany no vein of gold or ſilver is produced; for who has ever ſearched? For the uſe and poſſeſſion it is certain they care not. Amongſt them indeed are to be ſeen veſſels of ſilver, ſuch as have been preſented to their Princes and Embaſſadors, but holden in no other eſteem than veſſels made of earth. The Germans however adjoining to our frontiers value gold and ſilver for the purpoſes of commerce, and are wont to diſtinguiſh and prefer certain of our coins. They who live more remote are more primitive and ſimple in their dealings, and exchange one commodity for another. The money which they like is the old and long known, that indented, or that impreſſed with a chariot and two horſes. Silver too is what they ſeek more than gold, from no fondneſs or preference, but becauſe ſmall ſilver pieces are more ready in purchaſing things cheap and common.

Neither in truth, do they abound in Iron, as from the faſhion of their weapons may be gathered. Swords they rarely uſe, or the larger ſpear. They carry Javelins, or, in their own language, *Framms*, pointed with a piece of iron ſhort and narrow, but ſo ſharp and manageable, that with the ſame weapon they can fight at a diſtance, or hand to hand, juſt as need requires. Nay, the Horſemen alſo are content with a Shield and a Javelin: The Foot throw likewiſe weapons miſſive; each par-

ticular is armed with many, and hurls them a mighty ſpace, all naked, or only wearing a light caſſock. In their equipment they ſhew no oſtentation; only that their ſhields are diverſified and adorned with curious colours. With coats of mail very few are furniſhed, and hardly upon any is ſeen a head-piece or helmet. Their horſes are no wiſe ſignal either in faſhion or in fleetneſs, nor taught to wheel and bound, according to the practice of the Romans: They only move them forward in a line, or turn them right about, with ſuch compactneſs and equality that no one is ever behind the reſt. To one who conſiders the whole it is manifeſt, that in their foot their principal ſtrength lies, and therefore they fight intermixed with the horſe: For ſuch is their ſwiftneſs as to match and ſuit with the motions and engagements of the cavalry. So that the infantry are elected from amongſt the moſt robuſt of their youth, and placed in the front of the army. The number to be ſent is alſo aſcertained, out of every village *an hundred*, and by this very name they continue to be called at home, *thoſe of the hundred band:* Thus what was at firſt no more than a number, becomes thenceforth a title and diſtinction of honour. In arraying their army they divide the whole into diſtinct battalions formed ſharp in front. To recoil in battle, provided you return again to the attack, paſſes with them rather for policy than fear. Even while the combat is no more than doubtful, they bear away the bodies of their ſlain. The moſt glaring diſgrace that can befal them, is to have quitted their ſhield; nor to one branded with ſuch ignominy is it lawful to join in their ſacrifices, or to enter into their aſſemblies; and many who had eſcaped in the day of battle, have hanged themſelves to put an end to this their infamy.

In the choice of Kings they are determined by the ſplendor of their race, in that of Generals by their

bravery. Neither is the power of their Kings unbounded or arbitrary: And their Generals procure obedience not so much by the force of their authority, as by that of their example, when they appear enterprising and brave, when they signalize themselves by courage and prowess: and they surpass all in admiration and pre-eminence, if they surpass all at the head of an army. But to none else but the Priests is it allowed to exercise correction, or to inflict bonds or stripes. Nor, when the Priests do this, is the same considered as a punishment, or arising from the orders of the General, but from the immediate command of the Deity, him whom they believe to accompany them in war. They therefore carry with them when going to fight, certain images and figures taken out of their holy groves. What proves the principal incentive to their valour is, that it is not at random, nor by the fortuitous conflux of men, that their troops and pointed battalions are formed, but by the conjunction of whole families, and tribes of relations. Moreover, close to the field of battle are lodged all the neareſt and most interesting pledges of nature. Hence they hear the doleful howlings of their wives, hence the cries of their tender infants. These are to each particular the witnesses whom he most reverences and dreads; these yield him the praise which affect him most. Their wounds and maims they carry to their mothers or to their wives, neither are their mothers or wives shocked in telling, or in sucking their bleeding sores. Nay, to their husbands and sons, whilst engaged in battle, they administer meat and encouragement.

In history we find that some armies already yielding and ready to fly, have been by the women restored, through their inflexible importunity and intreaties, presenting their breasts, and shewing their impending captivity; an evil to the Germans then by far most dreadful when it befals their women. So that the spirit of such cities as amongst their hostages are in-

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joined to ſend their damſels of quality, is always engaged more effectually than that of others. They even believe them endowed with ſomething celeſtial, and the ſpirit of prophecy. Neither do they diſdain to conſult them, nor neglect the reſponſes which they return. In the reign of the deified Veſpaſian we have ſeen *Veleda*, for a long time, and by many nations, eſteemed and adored as a Divinity. In times paſt they likewiſe worſhiped *Aurinia* and ſeveral more, from no complaiſance or effort of flattery, nor as Deities of their own creating.

Of all the Gods, Mercury is he whom they worſhip moſt. To him on certain ſtated days it is lawful to offer even human victims. Hercules and Mars they appeaſe with beaſts uſually allowed for ſacrifice. Some of the Suevians make likewiſe immolations to *Iſis*. Concerning the cauſe and original of this foreign ſacrifice I have found ſmall light; unleſs the figure of her Image formed like a galley, ſhew that ſuch devotion arrived from abroad. For the reſt, from the grandeur and majeſty of Beings celeſtial, they judge it altogether unſuitable to hold the Gods incloſed within walls, or to repreſent them under any human likeneſs. They conſecrate whole woods and groves, and by the names of the Gods they call theſe receſſes; Divinities which only in contemplation, and mental reverence, they behold.

To the uſe of lots and auguries they are addicted beyond all other nations. Their method of divining by lots is exceeding ſimple. From a tree which bears fruit they cut a twig, and divide into ſmall pieces. Theſe they diſtinguiſh by ſo many ſeveral marks, and throw them at random, and without order, upon a white garment. Then the Prieſt of the Community, if for the public the lots are conſulted, or the father of a family, if about a private concern, after he has ſolemnly invoked the Gods, with

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eyes lifted up to heaven, takes up every piece thrice, and having done thus forms a judgment according to the marks before made. If the chances have proved forbidding, they are no more consulted upon the same affair during the same day: Even when they are inviting, yet, for confirmation, the faith of auguries too is tried. Yea, here also is the known practice of divining events from the voices and flight of birds. But to this Nation it is peculiar, to learn presages and admonitions divine from horses also. These are nourished by the State in the same sacred woods and groves, all milk white, and employed in no earthly labour. These yoked in the holy chariot, are accompanied by the Priest and the King, or the Chief of the Community, who both carefully observe his actions and neighing. Nor in any sort of augury is more faith and assurance reposed, not by the populace only, but even by the Nobles, even by the Priests. These account themselves the Ministers of the Gods, and the horses privy to his will. They have likewise another method of divination, whence to learn the issue of great and mighty wars. From the nation with whom they are at war they contrive, it avails not how, to gain a captive: Him they engage in combat with one selected from amongst themselves, each armed after the manner of his country, and according as the victory falls to this, or to the other, gather a presage of the whole.

Affairs of smaller moment the Chiefs determine. About matters of higher Consequence the whole Nation deliberates; yet in such sort, that whatever depends upon the pleasure and decision of the People is examined and discussed by the Chiefs. Where no accident or emergency intervenes, they assemble upon stated days, either when the moon changes, or is full: Since they believe such seasons to be the most fortunate for beginning all transactions. Neither in reckoning of time do they count, like us, the number

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of days, but that of nights. In this ſtyle their Ordinances are framed, in this ſtyle their Diets appointed; and with them the night ſeems to lead and govern the day. From their extenſive liberty this evil and default flows, that they meet not at once, nor as men commanded, and afraid to diſobey; ſo that often the ſecond day, nay, often the third, is conſumed through the ſlowneſs of the members in aſſembling. They ſit down as they liſt, promiſcuouſly, like a crowd, and all armed. It is by the Prieſts that ſilence is injoined, and with the power of correction the Prieſts are then inveſted. Then the King or Chief is heard, as are others, each according to his precedence in age, or in nobility, or in warlike renown, or in eloquence; and the influence of every ſpeaker proceeds rather from his ability to perſuade, than from any authority to command. If the propoſition diſpleaſe, they reject it by an inarticulate murmur: if it be pleaſing, they brandiſh their javelins. The moſt honourable manner of ſignifying their aſſent, is to expreſs their applauſe by the ſound of their arms.

In the aſſembly it is allowed to preſent accuſations, and to proſecute capital offences. Puniſhments vary according to the quality of the crime. Traitors and deſerters they hang upon trees. Cowards and ſluggards, and unnatural proſtitutes, they ſmother in mud and bogs, under a heap of hurdles. Such diverſity in their executions has this view, that in puniſhing of glaring iniquities, it behoves likewiſe to diſplay them to ſight; but effeminacy and pollution muſt be buried, and concealed. In lighter tranſgreſſions too the penalty is meaſured by the fault, and the delinquents upon conviction are condemned to pay a certain number of horſes or cattle. Part of this mulct accrues to the King, or to the Community, part to him whoſe wrongs are vindicated, or to his next kindred. In the ſame aſſemblies are alſo choſen their Chiefs or Rulers, ſuch

ſuch as adminiſter Juſtice in their villages and boroughs. To each of theſe are aſſigned an hundred perſons choſen from amongſt the populace, to accompany and aſſiſt him, men who help him at once with their authority and their counſel.

Without being armed they tranſact nothing, whether of public or private concernment. But it is repugnant to their cuſtom for any man to uſe arms, before the Community has atteſted his capacity to wield them. Upon ſuch teſtimonial, either one of the Rulers, or his father, or ſome kinſman dignify the young man in the midſt of the aſſembly with a ſhield and javelin. This amongſt them is the *manly robe*, this the firſt degree of honour conferred upon their youth. Before this they ſeem no more than part of a private family, but thenceforward part of the Commonweal. The princely dignity they confer even upon ſtriplings, whoſe race is eminently noble, or whoſe fathers have done great and ſignal ſervices to the State. For about the reſt, who are more vigorous and long ſi ce tried, they aſſiduouſly crowd to attend: Nor is it any ſhame to be ſeen amongſt the followers of theſe. Nay, there are likewiſe degrees of followers, higher or lower, juſt as he whom they follow judges fit. Mighty alſo is the emulation amongſt theſe followers, of each to be firſt in favour with his Prince; mighty alſo the emulation of the Princes, to excell in the number and valour of followers. This is their principal ſtate, this their chief force, to be at all times ſurrounded with a huge band of choſen young men, for ornament and glory in peace, for ſecurity and defence in war. Nor is it amongſt his own people only, but even from the neighbouring Communities, that any of their Princes reaps ſo much renown and a name ſo great, when he ſurpaſſes in the number and magnanimity of his followers. For ſuch are courted by Embaſſies, and diſtinguiſhed with preſents, and,

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by the terror of their fame alone, often diſſipate wars.

In the day of battle it is ſcandalous to the Prince to be ſurpaſſed in feats of bravery, ſcandalous to his followers to fail in matching the bravery of the Prince. But it is infamy during life, and indelible reproach, to return alive from a battle where their Prince was ſlain. To preſerve their Prince, to defend him, and to aſcribe to his glory all their own valorous deeds, is the ſum and moſt ſacred part of their oath. The Princes fight for victory; for the Prince his followers fight. Many of the young nobility, when their own Community comes to languiſh in its vigour by long peace and inactivity, betake themſelves, through impatience, to other States which then prove to be in war. For beſides that this people cannot brook repoſe, beſides that by perillous adventures they more quickly blazon their fame, they cannot, otherwiſe than by violence and war, ſupport their huge train of retainers. For from the liberality of their Prince they demand and enjoy that *War-horſe* of theirs, with that *victorious Javelin*, always dyed in the blood of their enemies. In the place of pay, they are ſupplied with a daily table and repaſts, though groſly prepared, yet very profuſe. For maintaining ſuch liberality and munificence a fund is furniſhed by continual wars and plunder. Nor could you ſo eaſily perſuade them to cultivate the ground, or to await the return of the ſeaſons and produce of the year, as to provoke the foe and to riſque wounds and death: Since they account it ſtupid and ſpiritleſs to acquire by their ſweat what they can gain by their blood.

Upon any receſs from war, they do not much attend the chaſe. Much more of their time they paſs in indolence, reſigned to ſleep and repaſts. All the moſt brave, all the moſt warlike, apply to nothing at all; but to their wives, to the ancient men, and to every the moſt impotent domeſtic, truſt all the

the care of their houſe, and of their lands and poſſeſſions. They themſelves loiter. Such is the amazing diverſity of their nature, that in the ſame men is found ſo much delight in ſloth, with ſo much enmity to repoſe. The Communities are wont, of their own accord and man by man, to beſtow upon their Princes a certain number of beaſts, or a certain portion of grain; a contribution which paſſes indeed for a mark of reverence and honour, but ſerves alſo to ſupply their neceſſities. They chiefly rejoice in the gifts which come from the bordering countries, ſuch as are ſent not only by particulars, but in the name of the State, curious horſes, ſplendid armour, rich harneſs, with collars of ſilver and gold. Now too they have learnt, what we have taught them, to receive money.

That none of the ſeveral people in Germany live together in Cities, is abundantly known; nay, that amongſt them none of their dwellings are ſuffered to be contiguous. They inhabit apart and diſtinct, juſt as a fountain, or a field, or a wood happened to invite them to ſettle. They raiſe their villages in oppoſite rows, but not in our manner with the houſes joined one to another. Every man has a vacant ſpace quite round his own, whether for ſecurity againſt accidents from fire, or that they want the art of building. With them, in truth, is unknown even the uſe of mortar and of tiles. In all their ſtructures they employ materials quite groſs and unhewn, void of faſhion and comelineſs. Some parts they beſmear with an earth ſo pure and reſplendent, that it reſembles painting and colours. They are likewiſe wont to ſcoop Caves deep in the ground, and over them to lay great heaps of dung. Thither they retire for ſhelter in the winter, and thither convey their grain: For by ſuch cloſe places they mollify the rigorous and exceſſive cold. Beſides, when at any time their enemy invades them, he can

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only ravage the open country, but either knows not ſuch receſſes as are inviſible and ſubterraneous, or muſt ſuffer them to eſcape him, on this very account that he is uncertain where to find them.

For their covering, a Mantle is what they all wear, faſtened with a claſp, or, for want of it, with a thorn. As far as this reaches not, they are naked, and lie whole days before the fire. The moſt wealthy are diſtinguiſhed with a Veſt, not one large and flowing, like thoſe of the Sarmatians and Parthians, but girt cloſe about them, and expreſſing the proportion of every limb. They likewiſe wear the ſkins of ſavage beaſts, a dreſs which thoſe bordering upon the Rhine uſe without any fondneſs or delicacy, but about which they who live further in the country are more curious, as void of all apparel introduced by commerce. They chuſe certain wild beaſts, and, having flayed them, diverſify their hides with many ſpots, as alſo with the ſkins of monſters from the deep, ſuch as are engendered in the diſtant Ocean and in ſeas unknown. Neither does the dreſs of the Women differ from that of the Men, ſave that the Women are ordinarily attired in linnen embroidered with purple, and uſe no ſleeves, ſo that all their arms are bare. The upper part of their breaſt is withal expoſed. Yet the laws of matrimony are ſeverely obſerved there; nor in the whole of their manners is aught more praiſe-worthy than this: For they are almoſt the only Barbarians contented with one wife, excepting a very few amongſt them, men of dignity who marry divers wives, from no wantonneſs or lubricity, but courted for the luſtre of their family into many alliances.

To the Huſband the Wife tenders no dowry, but the Huſband to the Wife. The parents and relations attend and declare their approbation of the Preſents, not Preſents adapted to feminine pomp and delicacy, nor ſuch as ſerve to deck the new-married woman,

women, but Oxen, and a Horſe accoutred, and a Shield, with a Javelin and Sword. By virtue of theſe gifts ſhe is eſpouſed. She too on her part brings her huſband ſome arms. This they eſteem the higheſt tie, theſe the holy myſteries, and matrimonial Gods. That the woman may not ſuppoſe herſelf free from the conſiderations of fortitude and fighting, or exempt from the caſualties of War, the very firſt ſolemnities of her wedding ſerve to warn her, that ſhe comes to her huſband as a partner in his hazards and fatigues, that ſhe is to ſuffer alike with him, and to adventure alike, during peace or during war. This the Oxen joined in the ſame yoke plainly indicate, this the Horſe ready equipped, this the Preſent of arms. It is thus ſhe muſt be content to live, thus to reſign life. The arms which ſhe then receives ſhe muſt preſerve inviolate, and to her ſons reſtore the ſame, as preſents worthy of them, ſuch as their wives may again receive, and ſtill reſign to her grand-children.

They therefore live in a ſtate of chaſtity well ſecured, corrupted by no ſeducing ſhews and public diverſions, by no irritations from banquetting. Of learning and of any ſecret intercourſe by letters they are all equally ignorant, men and women. Amongſt a people ſo numerous adultery is exceeding rare, a crime inſtantly puniſhed, and the puniſhment left to be inflicted by the huſband. He, having cut off her hair, expells her from his houſe naked, in preſence of her kindred, and purſues her with ſtripes through the village. For, to a woman who has proſtituted her perſon no pardon is ever granted. However beautiful ſhe be, however young, however abounding in wealth, a huſband ſhe can never find. In truth, no body turns vices into mirth there, nor is the practice of corrupting and of yielding to corruption called coldly, *the cuſtom of the age.* Better ſtill do thoſe Communities in which none but

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Virgins marry, and where to a ſingle marriage all their views and inclinations are at once confined. Thus, as they have but one body and one life, they take but one huſband, that beyond him they may have no thought, no further wiſhes, nor love him only as their Huſband, but as their Marriage. To reſtrain generation and the increaſe of children, is eſteemed an abominable ſin, as alſo to kill infants newly born. And more powerful with them are good manners, than with other People are good Laws.

In all their houſes the children are reared naked and naſty, and thus grow into thoſe limbs, into that bulk which with marvel we behold. They are all nouriſhed with the milk of their own mothers, and never ſurrendered to hand-maids and nurſes. The Lord you cannot diſcern from the Slave, by any ſuperior delicacy in rearing. Amongſt the ſame cattle they promiſcuouſly live, upon the ſame ground they without diſtinction lie, till at a proper age the free-born are parted from the reſt, and their bravery recommend them to notice. Slow and late do the young Men come to the uſe of Women, and thus very long preſerve the vigour of youth. Neither are the Virgins haſtened to wed. They muſt both have the ſame ſprightly youth, the like ſtature, and marry when equal and able-bodied. Thus the robuſtneſs of the parents is inherited by the children. Children are holden in the ſame eſtimation with their Mother's Brother, as with their Father. Some hold this tye of blood to be moſt inviolable and binding, and in receiving of hoſtages, ſuch pledges are moſt conſidered and claimed, as they who at once poſſeſs affections the moſt unalienable, and the moſt diffuſe intereſt in their family. To every Man, however, his own children are heirs and ſucceſſors: Wills they make none: For want of children his next akin inherits; namely, his own Brothers, thoſe of his

his Father, or thoſe of his Mother. To ancient Men, the more they abound in deſcendents, in relations and affinities, ſo much the more favour and reverence accrues. From being childleſs no advantage or eſtimation is derived.

All the enmities of your houſe, whether of your Father or of your Kindred, you muſt neceſſarily adopt, as well as all their friendſhips. Neither are ſuch enmities unappeaſable and permanent: Since even for ſo great a crime as homicide compenſation is made by a fixt number of ſheep and cattle, and by it the whole family is pacified to content: A temper wholſome to the State: becauſe to a free nation animoſities and faction are always more menacing and perillous. In ſocial feaſts and deeds of hoſpitality no nation upon earth was ever more liberal and abounding. To refuſe admitting under your roof any man whatſoever, is held wicked and inhuman. Every man receives every comer, and treats him with repaſts as large as his ability can poſſibly furniſh. When the whole Stock is conſumed, he who had treated ſo hoſpitably, guides and accompanies his gueſt to a new ſcene of hoſpitality, and both proceed to the next houſe, though neither of them invited: Nor avails it that they were not: They are received with the ſame frankneſs and humanity. Between a ſtranger and an acquaintance, in diſpenſing the rules and benefits of hoſpitality, no difference is made. Upon your departure, if you aſk any thing, it is the cuſtom to grant it, and with the ſame facility they aſk of you. In gifts they delight, but neither claim merit from what they give, nor own any obligation for what they receive. Their manner of entertaining their gueſts is familiar and kind.

The moment they riſe from ſleep, which they generally prolong till late in the day, they bathe, moſt frequently in warm water, as in a country where the Winter is very long and ſevere. From bathing they ſit down to meat, every man apart, upon a particular

ticular ſeat, and at a ſeparate table. They then proceed to their affairs, all in arms, as in arms they no leſs frequently go to banquet. To continue drinking night and day without intermiſſion, is a reproach to no man. Frequent then are their broils, as uſual amongſt men intoxicated with liquor; and ſuch broils rarely terminate in angry words, but for the moſt part in maimings and ſlaughter. Moreover, in theſe their Feaſts they generally deliberate about reconciling parties at enmity, about forming affinities, chuſing of Princes, and finally about peace and war. For they judge, that at no ſeaſon is the ſoul more open to thoughts that are artleſs and upright, or more fired with ſuch as are great and bold. This people, of themſelves no wiſe ſubtle or politic, from the freedom of the place and occaſion acquire ſtill more frankneſs to diſcloſe the moſt ſecret motions and purpoſes of their hearts. When therefore the minds of all have been once laid open and declared, on the day following the ſeveral ſentiments are reviſed and canvaſſed; and to both conjunctures of time due regard is had: They conſult when they know not how to diſſemble; they determine when they cannot miſtake.

For their drink they draw a liquor from barley or other grain, and ferment the ſame ſo as to make it reſemble Wine. Nay, they who dwell upon the bank of the Rhine deal in Wine. Their food is very ſimple, wild Fruit, freſh Veniſon, or coagulated Milk. They baniſh hunger without formality, without curious dreſſing and curious fare. In extinguiſhing thirſt they uſe not equal temperance. If you will but humour their exceſs in drinking, and ſupply them with as much as they covet, it will be no leſs eaſy to vanquiſh them by vices than by arms. Of public diverſions they have but one ſort, and in all their meetings the ſame is ſtill exhibited. Young men, ſuch as make it their paſtime, fling themſelves naked and dance amongſt ſharp ſwords and the deadly points

points of javelins. From habit they acquire their ſkill, and from their ſkill a graceful manner; yet from hence draw no gain or hire: Though this adventurous gaiety has its reward, namely that of pleaſing the ſpectators.

What is marvellous, playing at Dice is one of their moſt ſerious employments, and even ſober they are gameſters: Nay, ſo deſperately do they venture upon the chance of winning or loſing, that when their whole ſubſtance is played away, they ſtake their Liberty and their Perſons upon one and the laſt throw. The loſer goes calmly into voluntary bondage: However younger he be, however ſtronger, he tamely ſuffers himſelf to be bound and ſold by the winner. Such is their perſeverance in an evil courſe: They themſelves call it honour. Slaves of this claſs they exchange away in commerce, chiefly to free themſelves from the ſhame of ſuch a victory. Of their other ſlaves they make not ſuch uſe as we do of ours, by diſtributing amongſt them the ſeveral offices and employments of the family. Each of them has a dwelling of his own, each a houſhold to govern. His Lord uſes him like a Tenant, and obliges him to pay a quantity of grain, or of cattle, or of cloth. Thus far only the ſubſerviency of the ſlave extends. All the other duties in a family, not the Slaves, but the Wives and the Children diſcharge. To inflict ſtripes upon a ſlave, or to put him in chains, or to doom him to ſevere labour, are things rarely ſeen. To kill them they ſometimes are wont, not through correction or government, but in heat and rage, as they would an enemy, ſave that no vengeance or penalty follows. The Freedmen very little ſurpaſs the Slaves, rarely are of moment in the houſe, in the Community never, excepting only ſuch nations where arbitrary dominion prevails. For there they bear higher ſway than the freeborn, nay, higher than

than the Nobles. In other countries the inferior condition of freedmen is a proof of public liberty.

To the practice of uſury and of increaſing money by intereſt, they are ſtrangers; and hence is found a better guard againſt it, than if it were forbidden. They ſhift from land to land, and, ſtill appropriating a portion ſuitable to the number of hands for manuring, anon parcel out the whole amongſt particulars according to the condition and quality of each. As the plains are very ſpacious, the allotments are eaſily aſſigned. Every year they change, and cultivate a freſh ſoil; yet ſtill there is ground to ſpare. For they ſtrive not to beſtow labour proportionable to the fertility and compaſs of their lands, by planting Orchards, by incloſing Meadows, and by watering Gardens. From the earth Corn only is exacted. Hence they quarter not the year into ſo many Seaſons. Winter, Spring and Summer they underſtand, and for each have proper appellations. Of the name and bleſſings of Autumn they are equally ignorant.

In performing their Funerals they ſhew no ſtate or vain glory. This only is carefully obſerved, that with the coarſes of their ſignal men certain woods be burned. Upon the funeral pile they accumulate neither apparel nor perfumes. Into the fire are always thrown the arms of the dead, and ſometimes his horſe. With ſods of earth only the Sepulchre is raiſed. The pomp of tedious and elaborate monuments they contemn, as things grievous to the deceaſed. Tears and wailings they ſoon diſmiſs: Their affliction and woe they long retain. In Women it is reckoned becoming to bewail their loſs, in men to remember it.

This is what in general we have learnt of the original and cuſtoms of the whole people of Germany. I ſhall now deduce the inſtitutions and uſages of the ſeveral People, as far as they vary one from another,

as alſo an account of what nations from thence removed to ſettle themſelves in Gaul. That the Gauls were in times paſt more puiſſant and formidable, is related by the Prince of Authors, the deified Julius; and hence it is probable that they too have paſſed into Germany. For what a ſmall obſtacle muſt be a river to reſtrain any nation, as each grew more potent, from ſeizing or changing habitations, when as yet all habitations were common, and not parted or appropriated by the eſtabliſhment and terror of Monarchies? The Region therefore between the Hercynian Foreſt and the Rivers Meyne and Rhine, was occupied by the Helvetians, as was that beyond it by the Boians, both nations of Gaul. There ſtill remains a place called *Boiemum*, which denotes the primitive name and antiquity of the country, although the inhabitants have been changed. But whether the Araviſcians are derived from the Oſians, a nation of Germans paſſing into Pannonia, or the Oſians from the Araviſcians removing from thence into Germany, is a matter undecided, ſince they both ſtill uſe the ſame language, the ſame cuſtoms and the ſame laws. For as of old they lived alike poor and alike free, equal proved the evils and advantages on each ſide the river, and common to both people. The Treverians and Nervians aſpire paſſionately to the reputation of being deſcended from the Germans, ſince by the glory of this original they would eſcape all imputation of reſembling the Gauls in perſon and effeminacy. Such as dwell upon the bank of the Rhine, the Vangiones, the Tribocians, and the Nemetes, are without doubt all Germans. The Ubians are aſhamed of their original, though they have a particular honour to boaſt, that of having merited an eſtabliſhment as a Roman Colony, and ſtill delight to be called *Agrippinenſians*, after the name of their founder: They indeed formerly came from beyond the Rhine, and, for the

the many proofs of their fidelity, were ſettled upon the very bank of the river, not to be there confined or guarded themſelves, but to guard and defend that boundary againſt the reſt of the Germans.

Of all theſe Nations the Batavians are the moſt ſignal in bravery. They inhabit not much territory upon the Rhine, but poſſeſs an iſland in it. They were formerly part of the Cattians, and by means of feuds at home removed to theſe dwellings, whence they might become a portion of the Roman Empire. With them this honour ſtill remains, as alſo the memorials of their ancient aſſociation with us: For they are not under the contempt of paying tribute, nor ſubject to be ſqueezed by the farmers of the revenue. Free from all impoſitions and payments, and only ſet apart for the purpoſes of fighting, they are reſerved wholly for the wars, in the ſame manner as a Magazine of weapons and armour. Under the ſame degree of homage are the Nation of the Mattiacians. For ſuch is the might and greatneſs of the Roman People, as to have carried the awe and eſteem of their Empire beyond the Rhine and the ancient boundaries. Thus the Mattiacians living upon the oppoſite banks enjoy a ſettlement and limits of their own, yet in ſpirit and inclination are attached to us: in other things reſembling the Batavians, ſave that as they ſtill breathe their original air, ſtill poſſeſs their primitive ſoil, they are thence inſpired with ſuperior vivacity and keenneſs. Amongſt the People of Germany I would not reckon thoſe who occupy the Lands which are under decimation, though they be ſuch as dwell beyond the Rhine and the Danube. By ſeveral worthleſs and vagabond Gauls, and ſuch as poverty rendered daring, that Region was ſeized as one belonging to no certain poſſeſſor: Afterwards it became a ſkirt of the Empire and part of a Province, upon the enlargement of our bounds, and the extending of our garriſons and frontier.

Beyond theſe are the Cattians, whoſe territories begin at the Hercynian Foreſt, and conſiſt not of ſuch wide and marſhy plains, as thoſe of the other Communities contained within the vaſt compaſs of Germany, but produce ranges of hills, ſuch as run lofty and contiguous for a long tract, then by degrees ſink and decay. Moreover the Hercynian Foreſt attends for a while its native Cattians, then ſuddenly forſakes them. This People are diſtinguiſhed with bodies more hardy and robuſt, compact limbs, ſtern countenances, and greater vigour of ſpirit. For Germans, they are men of much ſenſe and adddreſs. They dignify choſen men, liſten to ſuch as are ſet over them, know how to preſerve their poſt, to diſcern occaſions, to rebate their own ardour and impatience, how to employ the day, how to entrench themſelves by night. They account fortune amongſt things ſlippery and uncertain, but bravery amongſt ſuch as are never-failing and ſecure; and, what is exceeding rare, nor ever to be learnt but by a wholſome courſe of diſcipline, in the conduct of the General they repoſe more aſſurance than in the ſtrength of the army. Their whole forces conſiſt of foot, who beſides their arms carry likewiſe inſtruments of iron and their proviſions. You may ſee other Germans proceed equipped to battle, but the Cattians ſo as to conduct a war. They rarely venture upon excurſions or caſual encounters. It is in truth peculiar to cavalry, ſuddenly to conquer, or ſuddenly to fly. Such haſte and velocity rather reſembles fear. Patience and deliberation are more akin to intrepidity.

Moreover a cuſtom, practiſed indeed in other nations of Germany, yet very rarely, and confined only to particulars more daring than the reſt, prevails amongſt the Cattians by univerſal conſent. As ſoon as they arrive to maturity of years, they let their hair and beards continue to grow, nor, till they have

have ſlain an enemy, do they ever lay aſide this form of countenance by vow ſacred to valour. Over the blood and ſpoil of a foe they firſt make bare their face. They alledge, that they have now acquitted themſelves of the debt and duty contracted by their birth, and rendered themſelves worthy of their country, worthy of their parents. Upon the ſpiritleſs, cowardly and unwarlike, ſuch deformity of viſage ſtill remains. All the moſt brave likewiſe wear an iron ring, (a mark of great diſhonour in that Nation) and retain it as a chain, till by killing an enemy they become releaſed. Many of the Cattians delight always to bear this terrible aſpect, and, when grown white through age, become awful and conſpicuous by ſuch marks both to the enemy and their own countrymen. By theſe in all engagements the firſt aſſault is made: Of theſe the front of the battle is always compoſed, as men who in their looks are ſingular and tremendous. For even during peace they abate nothing in the grimneſs and horror of their countenance. They have no houſe to inhabit, no land to cultivate, nor any domeſtic charge or care. With whomſoever they come to ſojourn, by him they are maintained, always very prodigal of the ſubſtance of others, always deſpiſing what is their own, till the feebleneſs of old age overtakes them, and renders them unequal to the efforts of ſuch rigid bravery. Next to the Cattians dwell the Uſipians and Tenƈterians, upon the Rhine, now running in a channel uniform and certain, ſuch as ſuffices for a boundary. The Tenƈterians, beſides their wonted glory in war, ſurpaſs in the ſervice and diſcipline of their cavalry. Nor do the Cattians derive higher applauſe from their foot than the Tenƈterians from their horſe. Such was the order eſtabliſhed by their forefathers, and what their poſterity ſtill purſue. From riding and exerciſing of horſes their children derive their paſtimes, in this exerciſe the young men

find matter for emulating one another, and in this the old men take pleaſure to perſevere. Horſes are by the father bequeathed as part of his houſhold and family, horſes are conveyed amongſt the rights of ſucceſſion, and as ſuch the ſon receives them, but not the eldeſt ſon, like other effects, by priority of birth, but he who happens to be ſignal in boldneſs and ſuperior in war.

Contiguous to the Tenſterians formerly dwelt the Bructerians, in whoſe room it is ſaid the Chamavians and Angrivarians are now ſettled, they who expulſed and almoſt extirpated the Bructerians with the concurrence of the neighbouring nations, whether in deteſtation of their arrogance, or allured by the love of ſpoil, or through the ſpecial favour of the Gods towards us Romans. They in truth even vouchſafed to gratify us with the ſight of the battle. In it there fell above ſixty thouſand ſouls, without a blow ſtruck by the Romans; but, what is a circumſtance ſtill more glorious, fell to furniſh them with a ſpectacle of joy and recreation. May the Gods continue and perpetuate amongſt theſe nations, if not any love for us, yet all by means this their animoſity and hate towards each other: Since whilſt the deſtiny of the Empire thus urges it, fortune cannot more ſignally befriend us than in ſowing ſtrife amongſt our foes.

The Angrivarians and Chamavians are encloſed behind by the Dulgibinians and Chaſuarians, and by other nations not ſo much noted: Before, the Friſians face them. The country of Friſia is divided into two, called the greater and leſſer, according to the meaſure of their ſtrength. Both nations ſtretch along the Rhine quite to the Ocean, and ſurround vaſt lakes ſuch as once have borne Roman Fleets. We have moreover even ventured out from thence into the Ocean, and upon its coaſts common fame has reported the Pillars of Hercules to be ſtill ſtanding:

ing: whether it be that Hercules ever viſited theſe parts, or that to his renowned name we are wont to aſcribe whatever is grand and glorious every where. Neither did Druſus, who made the attempt, want boldneſs to purſue it: But the roughneſs of the Ocean withſtood him, nor would ſuffer diſcoveries to be made about itſelf no more than about Hercules. Thenceforward the enterpriſe was dropped: Nay, more pious and reverential it ſeemed, to believe the marvellous feats of the Gods than to know and to prove them.

Hitherto I have been deſcribing Germany towards the Weſt. To the Northward it winds away with an immenſe compaſs. And firſt of all occurs the Nation of the Chaucians, who, though they begin immediately at the confines of the Friſians, and occupy part of the Shore, extend ſo far as to border upon all the ſeveral people whom I have already recounted, till at laſt, by a circuit they reach quite to the boundaries of the Cattians. A Region ſo vaſt the Chaucians do not only poſſeſs, but fill; a people of all the Germans the moſt noble, ſuch as would rather maintain their grandeur by juſtice than violence. They live in repoſe, retired from broils abroad, void of avidity to poſſeſs more, free from a ſpirit of domineering over others. They provoke no wars, they ravage no countries, they purſue no plunder. Of their bravery and power the chief evidence ariſes from hence, that without wronging or oppreſſing others, they are come to be ſuperior to all. Yet they are all ready to arm, and if an exigency require, armies are preſently raiſed, powerful and abounding as they are in men and horſes; and even when they are quiet and their weapons laid aſide, their credit and name continue equally high.

Along the ſide of the Chaucians and Cattians dwell the Cheruſcans, a people who finding no enemy to rouze them, were enfeebled by a peace overlaſting and uniform, but ſuch as they failed not to

nouriſh: A conduct which proved more pleaſing than ſecure; ſince treacherous is that repoſe which you enjoy amongſt neighbours that are very powerful and very fond of rule and maſterſhip. When recourſe is once had to the ſword, modeſty and fair dealing will be vainly pleaded by the weaker; names which are always aſſumed by the ſtronger. Thus the Cheruſcans, who formerly bore the character of *Good and Upright*, are now called *Cowards and Fools*, and the fortune of the Cattians who ſubdued them, grew immediately to be Wiſdom. In the ruin of the Cheruſcans the Foſians alſo their neighbours were involved, and in their calamities bore an equal ſhare, though in their proſperity they had been weaker and leſs conſidered.

In the ſame winding tract of Germany live the Cimbrians cloſe to the Ocean, a Community now very ſmall, but great in fame. Nay, of their ancient renown many and extenſive are the traces and monuments ſtill remaining, even their entrenchments upon either ſhore, ſo vaſt in compaſs that from thence you may even now meaſure the greatneſs and numerous bands of that people, and aſſent to the account of an army ſo mighty. It was on the ſix hundred and fortieth year of Rome, when the firſt mention was made of the arms of the Cimbrians, during the Conſulſhip of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo. If from that time we count to the ſecond Conſulſhip of the Emperor Trajan, the interval comprehends near two hundred and ten years, ſo long have we been conquering Germany. In a courſe of time ſo vaſt between theſe two periods, many have been the blows and diſaſters ſuffered on each ſide. In truth neither from the Samnites, nor from the Carthaginians, nor from both Spains, nor from all the nations of Gaul have we received more frequent checks and alarms; nor even from the Parthians: For more vigorous and invincible is

the

the Liberty of the Germans than the Monarchy of the Arſacides. Indeed, what has the power of the Eaſt to alledge to our diſhonour, but the fall of Craſſus, that power which was itſelf overthrown and abaſed by Ventidius, with the loſs of the great King Pacorus bereft of his life? But by the Germans the Roman People have been bereft of five armies all commanded by Conſuls; by the Germans the commanders of theſe armies, Carbo, and Caſſius, and Scaurus Aurelius, and Servilius Cæpio, as alſo Marcus Manlius, were all routed or taken: by the Germans even the Emperor Auguſtus was bereft of Varus and three Legions. Nor without difficulty and loſs of men were they defeated by Caius Marius in Italy, or by the deified Julius in Gaul, or by Druſus or Tiberius, or Germanicus, in their native territories. Soon after, the mighty menaces of Caligula againſt them ended in mockery and deriſion. Thenceforward they continued quiet, till taking advantage of our domeſtic diviſion and civil wars, they ſtormed and ſeized the winter entrenchments of the Legions, and aimed at the dominion of Gaul; from whence they were once more expulſed, and in the times preceding the preſent we gained a triumph over them rather than a victory.

I muſt now proceed to ſpeak of the Suevians, who are not, like the Cattians and Tencterians, comprehended in a ſingle People, but divided into ſeveral Nations, all bearing diſtinct names, though in general they are intitled Suevians, and occupy the larger ſhare of Germany. This People are remarkable for a peculiar cuſtom, of twiſting their hair, and binding it up in a knot. It is thus the Suevians are diſtinguiſhed from the other Germans, thus the free Suevians from their Slaves. In the other Nations, whether from alliance of blood with the Suevians, or, as is uſual, from imitation, this practice is alſo found, yet rarely and never exceeds

the years of youth. The Suevians even when their hair is white through age, continue to raiſe it backwards in a manner ſtern and ſtaring, and often tie it upon the top of their head only. That of their Princes is more accurately diſpoſed, and ſo far they ſtudy to appear agreeable and comely, but without any culpable intention. For by it they mean not to make love or to incite it: They thus dreſs when proceeding to war, and deck their heads ſo as to add to their height and terror in the eyes of the enemy.

Of all the Suevians the Semnones recount themſelves to be the moſt ancient and moſt noble. The belief of their antiquity is confirmed by religious myſteries. At a ſtated time of the year, all the ſeveral people deſcended from the ſame ſtock, aſſemble by their deputies in a wood conſecrated by the idolatries of their forefathers and by ſuperſtitious awe in times of old. There, by publicly ſacrificing a Man, they begin the horrible ſolemnity of their barbarous worſhip. To this Grove another ſort of reverence is alſo paid. No one enters it otherwiſe than bound with ligatures, thence profeſſing his ſubordination and meanneſs, and the power of the Deity there. If he fall down, he is not permitted to riſe or be raiſed, but grovels along upon the ground. And, of all their ſuperſtition this is the drift and tendency, that from this place the Nation drew their original; that here God, the ſupreme Governor of the world, reſides, and that all things elſe whatſoever are ſubject to him, and bound to obey him. The potent condition of the Semnones has increaſed their influence and authority, as they inhabit an hundred towns; and from the largeneſs of their Community it comes, that they hold themſelves for the head of the Suevians.

What, on the contrary, ennobles the Langobards is the ſmallneſs of their number, for that they, who are ſurrounded with very many and very powerful

Nations,

Nations, derive their ſecurity from no obſequiouſneſs or plying, but from the dint of battle and adventurous deeds. There follow in order the Reudignians, and Aviones, and Angles, and Varinians, and Eudoſes, and Suardones, and Nuithones, all defended by Rivers or Foreſts. Nor in one of theſe Nations does ought remarkable occur, only that they univerſally join in the worſhip of *Herthum*, that is to ſay, the Mother Earth. Her they believe to interpoſe in the affairs of Men, and to viſit Countries. In an iſland of the Ocean ſtands the Wood *Caſtum:* in it is a Chariot dedicated to the Goddeſs, covered over with a curtain and permitted to be touched by none but the Prieſt. Whenever the Goddeſs enters this her holy Vehicle, he perceives her, and with profound veneration attends the motion of the Chariot, which is always drawn by yoked Cows. Then it is that days of rejoicings always enſue, and in all places whatſoever which ſhe deſcends to honour with a viſit and her company, Feaſts and Recreation abound. They go not to war; they touch no arms; faſt laid up is every hoſtile weapon; Peace and repoſe are then only known, then only beloved, till to the Temple the ſame Prieſts reconducts the Goddeſs when well tired with the converſation of mortal beings. Anon the Chariot is waſhed and purified in a ſecret lake, as alſo the curtains, nay, the Deity herſelf too, if you chuſe to believe it. In this office it is ſlaves who miniſter, and they are forthwith doomed to be ſwallowed up in the ſame lake. Hence all men are poſſeſſed with myſterious terror, as well as with a holy ignorance what that muſt be which none ſee but ſuch as are immediately to periſh. Moreover this quarter of the Suevians ſtretches to the middle of Germany.

The Community next adjoining is that of the Hermundurians (that I may now follow the courſe

of the Danube, as a little before I did that of the Rhine) a people faithful to the Romans. So that to them alone of all the Germans commerce is permitted, not barely upon the bank of the Rhine, but more extenſively, and even in that glorious Colony in the Province of Rhœtia. They travel every where at their own diſcretion, and without a guard; and when to other Nations we ſhew no more than our arms and encampments, to this People we throw open our houſes and dwellings, as to men who have no longing to poſſeſs them. In the territories of the Hermundurians riſes the Elbe, a river very famous and formerly well known to us; at preſent we only hear it named.

Cloſe by the Hermundurians reſide the Nariſcans, and next to them the Marcomanians and Quadians. Amongſt theſe the Marcomanians are moſt ſignal in force and renown; nay, they acquired by their bravery their habitation itſelf, as from thence they formerly expulſed the Boians. Nor do the Nariſcans or Quadians degenerate in ſpirit. Now this is, as it were, the frontier of Germany, as far as Germany is waſhed by the Danube. To the times within our memory the Marcomanians and Quadians were governed by Kings, who were natives of their own, deſcended from the noble line of Maroboduus and Tudrus. At preſent they are even ſubject to ſuch as are foreigners. But the whole ſtrength and ſway of their Kings is derived from the authority of the Romans. From our arms they rarely receive any aid, from our money very frequently.

Nor leſs powerful are the ſeveral people beyond them, namely, the Marſignians, the Gothinians, the Oſians and the Burians, who altogether encloſe the Marcomanians and Quadians behind. Of thoſe the Marſignians and the Burians in ſpeech and dreſs reſemble the Suevians. From the Gallic language ſpoken by the Gothinians, and from that of Pannonia

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by the Oſians, it is manifeſt that neither of theſe People are Germans, as it is alſo from their bearing to pay tribute. Upon them as upon aliens their tribute is impoſed, partly by the Sarmatians, partly by the Quadians. The Gothinians, to heighten their diſgrace, are forced to labour in the iron mines. By all theſe ſeveral Nations but little level country is poſſeſſed: They are ſeated amongſt foreſts, and upon the ridges and declivities of mountains. For, Suevia is parted by a continual ridge of mountains, beyond which live many diſtinct Nations. Of theſe the Lygians are moſt numerous and extenſive, and ſpread into ſeveral Communities. It will ſuffice to mention the moſt puiſſant, even the Arians, Helvicones, Manimians, Elyſians, and Naharvalians. Amongſt the Naharvalians is ſhewn a Grove ſacred to devotion, extremely ancient. Over it a Prieſt preſides apparelled like a Woman: but, according to the explication of the Romans, it is *Caſtor* and *Pollux* who are here worſhipped. This Divinity is named *Alcis*. There are indeed no images here, no traces of an extraneous ſuperſtition: Yet their devotion is addreſſed to young Men and to Brothers. Now the Arians, beſides their forces, in which they ſurpaſs the ſeveral Nations juſt recounted, are in their perſons ſtern and truculent, and even humour and improve their natural grimneſs and ferocity by art and time. Their wear black ſhields, their bodies are painted black, they chuſe dark nights for engaging in battle, and by the very awe and ghaſtly hue of their army, ſtrike the enemy with dread; as none can bear this their aſpect, ſo very ſurpriſing, and as it were quite infernal. For, in all battles the eyes are firſt vanquiſhed. Beyond the Lygians dwell the Gothones under the rule of a King, and thence held in ſubjection ſomewhat ſtricter than the other German Nations, yet not ſo ſtrict as to diſtinguiſh their liberty. Immediately adjoining are the Rugians and

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Lemovians upon the coaſt of the Ocean, and of theſe ſeveral Nations the Characteriſtics are, a round Shield, a ſhort Sword, and kingly Government.

Next occur the communities of the Suiones, ſituated in the Ocean itſelf, and beſides their ſtrength in men and arms, very powerful at ſea. The form of their veſſels varies thus far from ours, that they have prows at each end, ſo as to be always ready to row to ſhore without turning; nor are they moved by ſails, nor on their ſides have benches of oars placed, but the rowers ply here and there in all parts of the ſhip alike, as in ſome rivers is done, and change their oars from place to place juſt as they ſhift their courſe hither or thither. To wealth alſo, amongſt them, great veneration is paid, and thence a ſingle ruler governs them, without all reſtriction of power, and exacting unlimited obedience. Neither here, as amongſt other Nations of Germany, are arms uſed indifferently by all, but ſhut up and warded under the care of a particular keeper, who in truth too is always a ſlave: Since from all ſudden invaſions and attacks from their foes the Ocean protects them: Beſides that armed bands, when they are not employed, grow eaſily debauched and tumultuous. The truth is, it ſuits not with the intereſt of an arbitrary Prince, to truſt the care and power of arms either with a Nobleman, or with a Freeman, or indeed with any man above the condition of a ſlave.

Beyond the Suiones is another ſea, one very heavy and almoſt void of Agitation; and by it the whole globe is thought to be bounded and invironed, for that the reflection of the ſun, after his ſetting, continues till his riſing ſo bright as to darken the ſtars. To this popular opinion has added, that the tumult alſo of his emerging from the ſea is heard, that forms divine are then ſeen, as likewiſe the rays

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about his head. Only thus far extend the limits of nature, if what fame ſays be true. Upon the right of the Suevian ſea the Æſtyan Nations reſide, who uſe the ſame cuſtoms and attire with the Suevians; their language more reſembles that of Britain. They worſhip the Mother of the Gods. As the Characteriſtic of their national Superſtition, they wear the Images of wild boars. This alone ſerves them for arms, this is the ſafeguard of all, and by this every worſhipper of the Goddeſs is ſecured even amidſt his foes. Rare amongſt them is the uſe of weapons of Iron, but frequent that of Clubs. In producing of grain and the other fruits of the earth, they labour with more aſſiduity and patience than is ſuitable to the uſual lazineſs of Germans. Nay, they even ſearch the deep, and of all the reſt are the only people who gather *Amber*. They call it *Glaſing*, and find it amongſt the ſhallows and upon the very ſhore. But, according to the ordinary incurioſity, and ignorance of Barbarians, they have neither learnt, nor do they enquire, what is its nature, or from what cauſe it is produced. In truth it lay long neglected amongſt the other groſs diſcharges of the ſea, till from our luxury it gained a name and value. To themſelves it is of no uſe: They gather it rough, they expoſe it in pieces coarſe and unpoliſhed, and for it receive a price with wonder. You would however conceive it to be a liquor iſſuing from trees, for that in the tranſparent ſubſtance are often ſeen birds and other animals, ſuch as at firſt ſtuck in the ſoft gum, and by it, as it hardened, became quite encloſed. I am apt to believe that, as in the receſſes of the Eaſt are found Woods and Groves dropping frankincenſe and balms, ſo in the Iſles and Continent of the Weſt ſuch gums are extracted by the force and proximity of the ſun, at firſt liquid and flowing into the next ſea, then thrown

thrown by winds and waves upon the oppoſite ſhore. If you try the nature of amber by the application of fire, it kindles like a torch, and feeds a thick and unctuous flame very high ſcented, and preſently becomes glutinous like pitch or roſin.

Upon the Suiones border the people Sitones, and, agreeing with them in all other things, differ from them in one, that here the Sovereignty is exerciſed by a Woman. So notoriouſly do they degenerate not only from a ſtate of Liberty, but even below a ſtate of Bondage. Here end the territories of the Suevians. Whether amongſt the Sarmatians or the Germans, I ought to account the Peucinians, the Venedians, and the Fennians, is what I cannot determine, though the Peucinians, whom ſome call Baſtarnians, ſpeak the ſame language with the Germans, uſe the ſame attire, build like them, and live like them, in that dirtineſs and ſloth ſo common to all. Somewhat they are corrupted into the faſhion of the Sarmatians by the intermarriages of the principal ſort with that Nation. From whence the Venedians have derived very many of their cuſtoms and a great reſemblance. For they are continually traverſing and infeſting with robberies all the foreſts and mountains lying between the Peucinians and Fennians. Yet they are rather reckoned amongſt the Germans, for that they have fixt houſes, and carry ſhields, and prefer travelling on foot, and excel in ſwitneſs: Uſages all widely differing from thoſe of the Sarmatians, who live on horſe-back, and dwell in waggons.

In wonderful and ſavageneſs live the Nation of the Fennians, and in beaſtly poverty, deſtitute of arms, of horſes, and of homes; their food the common herbs: their apparel, ſkins; their bed, the earth; their only hope in their arrows, which for want of iron they point with bones. Their com-

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mon ſupport they have from the chace, women as well as men; for with theſe the former wander up and down, and crave a portion of the prey. Nor other ſhelter have they even for the babes, againſt the violence of tempeſts and ravening beaſts, than to cover them with the branches of trees twiſted together: This is a reception for the old men, and hither reſort the young. Such a condition they judge more happy than the painful occupation of cultivating the ground, than the labour of rearing houſes, than the agitations of hope and fear attending the defence of their own property, or the ſeizing that of others. Secure againſt the deſigns of men, ſecure againſt the malignity of the Gods, they have accompliſhed a thing of infinite difficulty, that to them nothing remains even to be wiſhed.

What further accounts we have, are fabulous, as that the Helluſians and Oxiones have the countenances and aſpect of men with the bodies and limbs of ſavage beaſts. This, as a thing about which I have no certain information, I ſhall leave untouched.

THE
LIFE
OF
AGRICOLA.

With an ACCOUNT of the

Situation, Climate, and People

OF

BRITAIN.

To His GRACE

JOHN

DUKE of Argyll and Greenwich.

MY LORD,

BY never yet denying me any favour, Your Grace has only taught me a confident habit of ſtill preſuming upon future condeſcenſion, and the ſame ſucceſs. Hence I hope to be pardoned, even for my vanity, in publiſhing, as I do to the world, that I can boaſt of Your Grace as my Patron and my Friend, ſuch a Friend as the world will allow never to have been exceeded in acts of friendſhip.

From the ſame vanity, but vanity accompanied with faithful affection, I am ambitious of having Your Name ſtand in my Works as long as any Work of mine remains. Indulge me, My Lord, in gratifying this pleaſing ambition, and favourably accept a Dedication which intirely comes from the heart: nor indeed is any Dedication which doth not, worthy of acceptance.

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As therefore the following Treatiſe, one ſo charming and inſtructive, is in the original conſecrated to the memory of the excellent Agricola, that polite and moſt accompliſhed Patrician, that Great Commander, great Stateſman, and, which is above all, that Great Honeſt Man: Be it henceforth in Engliſh, from a juſt reſemblance of characters, for ever ſacred to the Name and Perſon of the Duke of Argyll, as well as a public, I hope a laſting teſtimony, with what high, and ſincere regard, I ever am,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's intirely Devoted,

and moſt Obedient,

Humble Servant,

T. GORDON.

THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

AMongſt the Ancients it was common to tranſmit to poſterity the characters and exploits of memorable men: Nor, in truth, in our own times has the age, however indifferent about what concerns itſelf, failed to obſerve the like uſage, whenever any ſpirit eminent for great and ſignal virtue has vanquiſhed and triumphed over the blindneſs of ſuch as cannot diſtinguiſh right from wrong, as well as over the ſpite of malignants; for ſpite and blindneſs are evils common to great States and to ſmall. But, as in thoſe early times there was found greater propenſity to feats of renown, and more ſcope to perform them; ſo whoever excelled in a happy genius was naturally led to diſplay the merits and memory of the virtuous dead, without all view to court any favour, or to gain advantages, but only by the motives and recompence flowing from a benevolent and conſcientious mind. Indeed there were ſeveral who, in recounting their own lives, concluded, that they thence ſhewed rather a confidence in their own integrity and demeanour, than any mark of arrogance. Neither was the account

which

which Rutilius and Scaurus gave of themſelves, thence the leſs credited, or the more cenſured. So true it is, that the ſeveral virtues are beſt underſtood and moſt prized, during the ſame times in which they are moſt eaſily produced. But to myſelf, who am going to relate the Life of a perſon deceaſed, I find pardon neceſſary; which I ſhould not have aſked, were I not about to revive and traverſe times ſo ſanguinary, and baneful to all virtue.

We find it recorded, that for celebrating the praiſes of Pætus Thraſea, Arulenus Ruſticus ſuffered a deadly doom, as did Herennius Senecio for thoſe of Helvidius Priſcus. Nor upon the perſons of the Authors only was this cruelty inflicted, but alſo upon the Books themſelves; ſince to the Triumvirate of Juſtice orders were ſent, that in the Forum and place of popular Elections, the Works of men ſo illuſtrious for parts and genius ſhould be burned. Yes, in this very fire they imagined that they ſhould aboliſh the voice and utterance of the Roman People, with the liberty of the Senate, and all the ideas and remembrances of human-kind; for they had beſides expelled all the profeſſors of Philoſophy, and driven every laudable Science into exile, that nought which was worthy and honeſt might any-where be ſeen. Mighty ſurely was the teſtimony which we gave of our patience; and as our forefathers had beheld the ultimate conſummation of Liberty, ſo did we of Bondage, ſince through dread of informers and inquiſitions of State, we were bereft of the common intercourſe of ſpeech and attention. Nay, with our utterance we had likewiſe loſt our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be ſilent.

Now indeed at length our ſpirit returns. Yet, though from the firſt dawn of this very happy age begun by the reign of Nerva, he blended together two things once fonnd irreconcileable, public Liberty

berty and ſovereign Power: and though Trajan, his adopted Succeſſor, be daily augmenting the felicity of the State; inſomuch that for the general ſecurity not only hopes and vows are conceived but even firm aſſurance follows theſe vows, and their full accompliſhment is ſeen; ſuch, however, is the frailty of man, and its effects, that much more ſlow is the progreſs of the remedies than of the evils; and, as human bodies attain their growth by tedious degrees, and are ſubject to be deſtroyed in an inſtant, ſo it is much eaſier to ſuppreſs than to revive the efforts of Genius and Study. For upon the mind there ſteals a pleaſure even in ſloth and remiſſneſs, and that very inactivity which was at firſt hated, is at laſt loved. Will it not be found that during a courſe of fifteen years, (a mighty ſpace in the age of mortal man) numbers periſhed through fortuitous diſaſters, and all men noted for promptneſs and ſpirit were cut off by the cruelty of the Emperor? Few we are who have eſcaped; and, if I may ſo ſpeak, we have ſurvived not only others, but even ourſelves, when from the middle of our life ſo many years were rent; whence from being young we are arrived at old age, from being old we are nigh come to the utmoſt verge of mortality, all in a long courſe of awful ſilence. I ſhall however, find no cauſe of regret from having framed an hiſtorical deduction of our former bondage, as alſo a teſtimony of the public bleſſings which at preſent we enjoy; though, in doing it, my ſtile be negligent and unpoliſhed. To the honour of Agricola my Wife's Father, this preſent Book is in the mean time dedicated, and, as it is a declaration of filial duty and affection, will thence be commended, at leaſt excuſed.

GNæus Julius Agricola was born in the ancient and illuſtrious Colony of Forojulium, and both his grandfathers were Procurators to the Em-

perors ; a dignity peculiar to the Equeſtrian Order. His father Julius Græcinus was a Senator, and noted for Eloquence and Philoſophy. By theſe his virtues he earned the wrath of Caligula. For he was by him ordered to accuſe Marcus Silanus, and put to death for refuſing. His mother was Julia Procilla, a Lady of ſingular chaſtity. Under her eye and tender care he was reared, and ſpent his childhood and youth in the continual purſuit and cultivation of worthy accompliſhments. What guarded him from the allurements of the vicious, (beſides his own virtuous diſpoſition, and natural innocence) was, that for the ſeat and nurſery of his ſtudies, whilſt yet very little, he had the City of Marſeilles, a place well tempered and framed, as in it all the politeneſs of the Greeks and all the Provincial parſimony are blended together. I remember he was wont to declare, that in his early youth he ſtudied Philoſophy and the Law with more avidity than was allowable to a Roman and a Senator, till the diſcretion of his mother checked his ſpirit engaged with paſſion and ardor in the purſuit. In truth, his ſuperior and elevated genius thirſted, with more vehemence than caution, after the lovelineſs and luſtre of a name and renown ſo mighty and ſublime. Reaſon and age afterwards qualified his heat; and, what is a taſk extremely hard, he ſatisfied himſelf with a limited meaſure of Philoſophy.

The firſt rudiments of war he learnt in Britain, under that prudent and vigilant Commander Suetonius Paulinus, by whom he was choſen and diſtinguiſhed as his domeſtic companion. Neither did Agricola behave licentiouſly, after the manner of young men, who turn warfare into riot, nor aſſumed the title and office of a Tribune without the ſufficiency, in order to uſe it ſlothfully in feats of pleaſure and abſence from duty, but to know the Province, to be known to the Army, to learn of ſuch as had experience, to follow ſuch as were worthy and brave,

brave, to ſeek for no exploits for oſtentation, to refuſe none through fear, and in all his purſuits was equally zealous and active. Indeed, at no time had Britain been under greater combuſtions, nor our affairs there more precarious. Our Veterans were ſlaughtered, our Colonies burned down, our Armies ſurprized and taken. At that juncture the ſtruggle was for life, afterwards for victory. Now, though all theſe affairs were tranſacted by the counſels and conduct of another than Agricola, and though the ſtreſs of the whole, with the glory of recovering the Province, accrued to the General; they all, however, proved to the young man matters of ſkill, of experience, and ſtimulation; and there ſeized his ſoul a paſſion for military glory, a ſpirit diſguſtful to the times, when of men ſignally eminent a malignant opinion was entertained, and when as much peril aroſe from a great character as from a bad.

Departing from hence to Rome for the exerciſe of public dignities, he there married Domitia Decidiana, a lady ſplendid in her deſcent, and to him who was aſpiring to higher honours this marriage proved a great ornament and ſupport. In marvellous unanimity they alſo lived, in a courſe of mutual tenderneſs and mutual preference; a temper commendable in both, only that the praiſe of a good wife riſes in proportion to the contumely of a bad. His lot, as Quæſtor, fell upon Aſia, where Salvius Titianus proved to be Proconſul. But neither the Province nor the Proconſul corrupted his probity, though the country was very rich, nay, prepared as a prey for men corruptly diſpoſed: and Titianus, a man bent upon all acts of rapine, was ready upon the ſmalleſt encouragement, to have purchaſed a mutual connivance in iniquity. In Aſia he was enriched by the birth of a daughter, tending at once to his conſolation, and the ſupport of his family; for the ſon born to him before, he very ſoon loſt. The inter-

val between his bearing the office of Quæſtor and that of Tribune of the people, and even the year of his Tribuneſhip, he paſſed in repoſe and inactivity, as well aware of the ſpirit of the times under Nero, when ſloth and heavineſs ſerved for wiſdom. With the like indolence he held the Prætorſhip in the ſame quiet and ſilence. For upon him the juriſdiction of that dignity fell not. The public paſtimes, and the empty gaieties of the office he exhibited according to the rules of good ſenſe, and to the meaſure of his wealth, in a manner though remote from prodigality, yet deſerving popular applauſe. As he was next appointed by Galba to make reſearch into the gifts and oblations appertaining to the Temples, he proceeded with ſuch diligence and an examination ſo ſtrict, that the State ſuffered from no ſacrilege ſave that of Nero.

In the year following he ſuffered a grievous blow in his ſpirit and family. For, Otho's Fleet which continued roving upon the coaſt, and purſuing rapine, whilſt they were ravaging Intemelium (a part of Liguria) ſlew the Mother of Agricola upon her eſtate there, and plundered the eſtate itſelf with a great part of her treaſure, which had indeed proved the cauſe of the murder. As he therefore went from Rome to ſolemnize her Funeral, he had tidings upon the road that Veſpaſian was purſuing the Sovereignty, and inſtantly eſpouſed his party. In the beginning of this reign all the exerciſe of power, and the government of the City, were intirely in the hands of Mucianus; for Domitian was yet extremely young, and, of the Imperial fortune of his father, aſſumed nothing further than a latitude for debauchery. Mucianus, who had diſpatched Agricola to levy forces, and found him to have acted in that truſt with uprightneſs and magnanimity, preferred him to the command of the twentieth Legion, as ſoon as he was informed that he who commanded

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it before was engaged in ſeditious practices. Indeed that Legion had with great ſlowneſs and reluctance been brought to ſwear allegiance to Veſpaſian; nay, was grown over-mighty and even formidable to the Commanders in chief: So that their own Commander was found void of authority to controul them; though it is uncertain whether from the temper of the Man, or from that of the ſoldiers. Thus Agricola was choſen, at once to ſucceed him, and to puniſh delinquency in them; and exerciſing moderation altogether rare, would rather have it thought, that he had found them unblameable than made them ſo.

Over Britain at that juncture Vettius Bolanus bore rule, but with more complacency than ſuited a province ſo fierce and untamed. Hence Agricola reſtrained his own heat, and held within bounds the ardor of his ſpirit, as he was well ſkilled how to ſhew his obedience, and had thoroughly learned to blend what was honourable with what was profitable: Soon after this, Britain received for its Governor Petillius Cerialis, one of Conſular quality. The virtue and abilities of Agricola had now ample ſpace for producing ſuitable effects. But to him at firſt Cerialis communicated only the dangers and fatigues: With him anon he likewiſe ſhared the glory; frequently, for trial of his proweſs, committed to his conduct a part of the Army: ſometimes, according to the meaſure of his ſucceſs, ſet him at the head of forces ſtill larger. Nor did Agricola ever vaunt his exploits to blazon his own fame. To his General, as to the Author of all, he, as his Inſtrument and Inferior, ſtill aſcribed his good fortune. Thus, from his bravery in the execution of his orders, from his modeſty in recounting his deeds of bravery, he eſcaped envy, yet failed not to gain glory.

Upon his return from commanding a Legion, the deified Veſpaſian raiſed him to the rank of a Patrician,

and afterwards inveſted him with the government of the Province of Aquitaine, a government of the foremoſt dignity, and given as previous to the Conſulſhip, to which that Prince had deſtined him. There are many who believe, that to military men ſubtlety of ſpirit is wanting; for that in camps the direction of proceſs and authority is rather rough and void of formality, and that where hands and force are chiefly uſed, there the addreſs and refinements uſual to Courts are not exerciſed. Yet Agricola, aſſiſted by his natural prudence, though he was then engaged only with men of peace and the robe, acquitted himſelf with great facility, and great uprightneſs. He carefully diſtinguiſhed the ſeaſons of buſineſs and the ſeaſons of receſs. Whenever he ſat in Council, or upon the Tribunals of juſtice, he was grave, attentive, awful, generally addicted to compaſſion. The moment he had fulfilled the duties of his office, he perſonated no longer the man of power: He had then caſt off all ſternneſs, all airs of ſtate, and all rigour. Nay, what is very rarely to be ſeen, his complaiſance neither weakened his authority, nor did his ſeverity make him leſs amiable. It were an injury to the virtues of ſo great a man, to particularize his juſt dealings, his temperance, and the cleanneſs of his hands. In truth, glory itſelf was what he purſued, not by any oſtentation of bravery, or by any ſtrain of artifice or addreſs, though of that purſuit even the beſt men are often fond. Thus he was far from maintaining any competition with his equals in ſtation, far from any conteſt with the Procurators of the Prince: Since, to conquer in this contention he judged to be no glory; and to be cruſhed by them were diſgrace. His adminiſtration here laſted hardly three years, ere he was recalled to the preſent poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip. With this employment there accrued the public opinion, that for his province Britain would be aſſigned him,

from

from no words which had dropped from him about it, but becauſe he was deemed equal to the Office. Common fame does not always err; ſometimes it even directs the public choice. To myſelf, yet very young, whilſt he was Conſul, he contracted his daughter, a young Lady even then of excellent hopes, and, at the end of his Conſulſhip, preſented her in marriage. He was then forthwith promoted to the Government of Britain, as alſo inveſted with the honour of the Pontificate.

The account which I ſhall here preſent of the ſituation and people of Britain, a ſubject about which many Authors have written, comes not from any deſign of ſetting up my own exactneſs and genius againſt theirs, but only becauſe the country was then firſt thoroughly ſubdued. So that ſuch matters as former Writers have, without knowing them, embelliſhed with eloquence, will by me be recounted according to the truth of evidence and diſcoveries. Of all the Iſlands which have reached the knowledge of the Romans, Britain is the largeſt. It extends towards Germany to the Eaſt, towards Spain to the Weſt. To the South it looks towards Gaul. Its Northern ſhore, beyond which there is no land, is beaten by a Sea vaſt and boundleſs. Britain is by Livy and Fabius Ruſticus, the former the moſt eloquent of the ancient hiſtorians, the latter of the moderns, compared in ſhape to an oblong ſhield, or a broad knife with two edges. And ſuch, in effect, is its figure on this ſide Caledonia, whence common opinion has thus alſo faſhioned the whole. But a tract of territory huge and unmeaſurable ſtretches forward to the uttermoſt ſhore, and ſtraightning by degrees, terminates like a wedge. Round the coaſt of this Sea, which beyond it has no land, the Roman Fleet now firſt ſailed, and thence proved Britain to be an Iſland,

as alſo diſcovered and ſubdued the Iſles of Orkney, till then unknown. Thule was likewiſe deſcried, hitherto hid by Winter under eternal Snow. This Sea they report to be ſlow and ſtagnate, difficult to the Rowers, and, indeed, hardly to be raiſed by the force of Winds. This I conjecture to be becauſe land and mountains, which are the cauſe and materials of tempeſts, very rarely occur in proportion to the mighty maſs of water, a maſs ſo deep and uninterrupted as not to be eaſily agitated. An inquiry into the nature of the Ocean and of the Tide, is not the purpoſe of this Work, and about it many have written. One thing I would add, that no where is the power of the Sea more extenſive than here, forcing back the waters of many Rivers, or carrying them away with its own; nor is its flux and ebbings confined to the banks and ſhore; but it works and winds itſelf far into the country, nay, forms bays in rocks and mountains, as if the ſame were its native bed.

For the reſt; who were the firſt inhabitants of Britain, whether natives of its own, or foreigners, can be little known amongſt a people thus barbarous. In their looks and perſons they vary; from whence ſeveral arguments and inferences are formed: For, the red hair of the Caledonians and their large limbs, teſtify their deſcent to be from Germany: The ſwarthy complexion of the Silures, and their hair, which is generally curled, with their ſituation oppoſite to the coaſt of Spain, furniſh ground to believe, that the ancient Iberians had arrived from thence here, and taken poſſeſſion of the territory. They who live next to Gaul are alſo like the Gauls; whether it be that the ſpirit of the original ſtock from which they ſprang, ſtill remains, or whether in Countries near adjoining, the genius of the Climate confers the ſame form and diſpoſition upon the

the bodies of men. To one who conſiders the whole, it ſeems however credible, that the Gauls at firſt occupied this their neighbouring Coaſt: That their ſacred rites are the ſame, you may learn from their being poſſeſſed with the ſame ſuperſtition of every ſort: Their ſpeech does not much vary: In daring of dangers they are prompted by the like boldneſs, and with the like affright avoid them when they approach: In the Britons, however, ſuperior ferocity and defiance is found, as in a people not yet ſoftned by a long peace. For we learn from Hiſtory, that the Gauls too flouriſhed in warlike proweſs and renown: Amongſt them afterwards, together with peace and idleneſs, effeminacy entered; and thus, with the loſs of their Liberty, they loſt their ſpirit and magnanimity. The ſame happened to thoſe of the Britons who were conquered long ago. The reſt ſtill continue ſuch as the Gauls once were.

Their principal force conſiſts in their foot. Some Nations amongſt them make alſo war in Chariots. The more honourable perſon always drives: Under his leading his followers fight. They were formerly ſubject to Kings. They are now ſwayed by ſeveral Chiefs, and rent into factions and parties, according to the humour and paſſions of thoſe their Leaders. Nor againſt Nations thus powerful does aught ſo much avail us, as that they conſult not in a body for the ſecurity of the whole. It is rare that two or three Communities aſſemble and unite to repulſe any public danger threatening to all. So that whilſt only a ſingle Community fought at a time, they were every one vanquiſhed. The ſky, from frequent clouds and rain, is dull and hazy: Exceſſive cold they feel not: Their days in length ſurpaſs ours: Their nights are very clear, and at the extremity of the Country, very ſhort; ſo that between the ſetting and return of the day, you per-

ceive but ſmall interval. They affirm, that were it not for the intervention of clouds, the rays of the ſun would be ſeen in the night, and that he doth not riſe and fall, but only paſs by: For that the extremities of the earth, which are level, yielding but a low ſhadow, prevent darkneſs from riſing high and ſpreading; and thence night is far ſhort of reaching the ſtars and the ſky. The ſoil is ſuch, that except the olive and the vine, and other vegetables, which are wont to be raiſed in hotter climes, it readily bears all fruits and grain, and is very fertile. It produces quickly, but its productions ripen ſlowly; and of both theſe effects there is the ſame cauſe, the extreme humidity of the earth and of the ſky. Britain yields Gold and Silver, with other metals, all which prove the prize and reward of the Conquerors. The ſea alſo breeds Pearls, but of a dark and livid hue, a defect by ſome aſcribed to the unſkilfulneſs of ſuch as gather them. For, in the Red Sea they are pulled from the rocks alive and vigorous. In Britain they are gathered at random, ſuch as the ſea caſts them upon the ſhore. For myſelf, I am much apter to believe, that nature has failed to give the Pearls perfection, than that we fail in avarice.

The Britons themſelves are a people who chearfully comply with the levies of men, with the impoſition of taxes, and with all the duties enjoined by Government, provided they receive no illegal treatment and inſults from their Governors: Thoſe they bear with impatience. Nor have the Romans any farther ſubdued them than only to obey juſt Laws, but never to ſubmit to be ſlaves. Even the deified Julius Cæſar, the firſt of all the Romans who entered Britain with an army, though by gaining a battle he frightened the natives, and became maſter of the coaſt, yet may be thought to have rather preſented poſterity with a view of the Coun-

try,

try, than to have conveyed down the poſſeſſion. Anon the civil Wars enſued, and againſt the Commonwealth were turned the arms of her own Chiefs and Leaders. Thus Britain was long forgot, and continued to be ſo even during peace. This was what Auguſtus called *Reaſon of State*, but what Tiberius ſtiled the *Ordinance of Auguſtus*. That Caligula meditated an invaſion of Britain in perſon, is well known: But he poſſeſſed a ſpirit, as precipitate and wild, ſo preſently ſurfeited with any deſign whatever; beſides that all his mighty efforts againſt Germany were quite baffled. The deified Claudius accompliſhed the undertaking; having thither tranſported the Legions, with a number of auxiliary forces, and aſſociated Veſpaſian into the direction of the deſign: An incident which proved the introduction to his approaching fortune. There, Nations were ſubdued, Kings taken captive, and Veſpaſian placed to advantage in the eye of the Fates.

The firſt Governor of Conſular quality, was Aulus Plautius, then Oſtorius Scapula, both ſignal in war. And, by degrees, the neareſt part of Britain was reduced into the condition of a Province. To ſecure it, a Colony of Veterans was likewiſe ſettled To the Britiſh King Cogidunus certain Communities were given, a Prince who, even till our times, continued in perfect fidelity to us. For, with the Roman People it is a cuſtom long ſince received, and practiſed of old, that, for eſtabliſhing the bondage of Nations, they are to employ even Kings as their inſtruments. Afterwards followed Didius Gallus, and juſt preſerved what acquiſitions his Predeceſſors had made; only that further in the Iſland he raiſed ſome Forts, and very few they were, purely for the name and opinion of having enlarged his Government Next to Didius came Veranius, and died in leſs than a year.

Then immediately ſucceeded Suetonius Paulinus, who, during two years, commanded with ſucceſs, ſubdued freſh Nations and eſtabliſhed Garriſons. Truſting to theſe, he went to aſſail the Iſle of Angleſey, as a place which ſupplied the revolters with ſuccours, and thus left the Country behind him expoſed to the enemy.

For, the Britons, when through the abſence of the Governor they were eaſed of their fear, began to commune together concerning the miſeries of bondage, to recount their ſeveral grievances, and ſo to conſtrue and heighten their injuries as effectually to inflame their reſentments. ‘ Their pa-
‘ tience, they ſaid, availed them nothing, further
‘ than to invite the impoſition of heavier burdens
‘ upon a people who thus tamely bore any. In
‘ times paſt they had only a ſingle King: They
‘ were now ſurrendered to two. One of theſe,
‘ the Governor-General, tyrannized over their bo-
‘ dies and lives; the Imperial Procurator, who was
‘ the other, over their ſubſtance and fortunes. Equal-
‘ ly pernicious to their ſubjects was any variance
‘ between theſe their Rulers, as their good intelli-
‘ gence and unanimity. Againſt them the one
‘ employed his own predatory bands, as did the
‘ other his Centurions and their men; and both
‘ exerciſed violence alike, both treated them with
‘ equal inſults and contumely. To ſuch height was
‘ oppreſſion grown, that nothing whatever was ex-
‘ empt from their avarice, nothing whatever from
‘ their luſt. He who in the day of battle ſpoiled
‘ others, was always ſtronger than they. But here
‘ it was chiefly by the cowardly and effeminate
‘ that their houſes were ſeized, their children forced
‘ away, and their men obliged to liſt; as if their
‘ Country were the only thing for which the Bri-
‘ tons knew not how to die. In truth, what a
‘ ſmall force would all the ſoldiers arrived in the
‘ Iſland

'Iſland appear, would the Britons but compute
'their own numbers? It was from this conſideration
'that Germany had thrown off the ſame Yoke,
'though a Country defended only by a River, and not
'like this, by the Ocean. To animate themſelves
'to take arms, they had their Country, their
'Wives, their Parents; whilſt theſe their oppreſ-
'ſors were prompted by nothing but their avarice
'and ſenſuality: Nor would they fail to withdraw
'from the Iſland, as even the deified Julius had
'withdrawn, would the natives but imitate the
'bravery of their forefathers, and not be diſmayed
'with the iſſue of an encounter or two. Amongſt
'people like themſelves reduced to miſery, ſuperior
'ardor was ever found, as alſo greater firmneſs and
'perſeverance. Towards the Britons, at this junc-
'ture, even the Gods manifeſted compaſſion, ſince
'they thus kept the Roman General at ſuch a di-
'ſtance, thus held the Roman Army confined in
'another Iſland. Nay, already they themſelves had
'gained a point the moſt difficult to be gained, that
'they could now deliberate about meaſures com-
'mon to all: For, doubtleſs, more perilous it were
'to be diſcovered forming ſuch counſels, than open-
'ly to put them in execution.'

When with theſe and the like reaſons they had animated one another, they unanimouſly took arms under the leading of Boudicea, a woman of Royal deſcent: For, in conferring Sovereignty they make no diſtinction of ſexes. They then forthwith aſſailed on every ſide the ſoldiers diſperſed here and there in Forts, and having ſtormed and ſacked the ſeveral Garriſons, fell upon the Colony itſelf, as the Seat and Center of Public Servitude: Nor was any kind of cruelty omitted, with which rage and victory could poſſibly inſpire the hearts of Barbarians. In truth, had not Paulinus, upon learning the revolt of the Province, come with notable

ſpeed

ſpeed to its relief, Britain had been loſt. Yet, by the ſucceſs of a ſingle battle, he reduced the Country to its old ſubjection, though ſeveral continued in arms, ſuch, namely, as were conſcious of inciting the rebellion, and under perſonal dread from the ſpirit of the Governor. He, though otherwiſe a ſignal Commander, yet treated ſuch as had ſurrendered themſelves in a manner very imperious; and, as one who likewiſe avenged his own particular injury, thence exerted the greater rigor. Inſomuch that in his room Petronius Turpilianus was ſent, as one whoſe behaviour would prove more relenting, one who being unacquainted with the delinquencies of the enemies, would be more gentle in accepting their remorſe and ſubmiſſion. Turpilianus, when he had quite appeaſed the late commotions, ventured upon nothing further, and then delivered the Province to Trebellius Maximus. He, ſtill more unwarlike and inactive than his Predeceſſor, and no wiſe trained in camps and armies, maintained the tranquillity of the Province by a method of ſoftneſs and complaiſance. The Barbarians had now likewiſe learned to forgive ſuch vices as humoured them in pleaſure and eaſe. Moreover, the civil Wars which then intervened, furniſhed a proper excuſe for the lazy behaviour of the Governor. But he found himſelf greatly embarraſſed with faction and diſcord; for that the ſoldiers, who had ever been inured to expeditions and feats in the field, were, through idleneſs, grown turbulent and licentious. Trebellius, by flight and lurking, eſcaped the preſent fury of the army: He afterwards reſumed the Command, but with an authority altogether precarious, without all ſpirit, and deſtitute of all dignity; as if between him and them articles had been ſettled, that the ſoldiers ſhould retain their licentious behaviour, and the General be permitted to enjoy his life. During this mutiny no

blood

blood was ſpilled. Neither did Vettius Bolanus, as the civil War yet ſubſiſted, exert any diſcipline in Britain. Towards the enemy there ſtill remained the ſame ſloth and negligence, with the ſame inſolent ſpirit in the camp: This difference only there was, that Bolanus was a man perfectly innocent; and being ſubject to no hate, as he was free from all crimes, he had inſtead of authority over them, only gained their affections.

But, when Veſpaſian had, with the poſſeſſion of the world, alſo recovered Britain, in it were ſeen great Commanders, noble Armies, and the hopes of the enemy quite abated. Petilius Cerialis, particularly, at his firſt entranee, ſtruck them at once with general terror, by attacking the Community of the Brigantes, reckoned the moſt populous of the whole Province. There followed many encounters, ſuch as ſometimes proved very bloody. So that he held moſt part of their Country as his conqueſt, or continued to ravage it by war. In truth, though the exploits of Cerialis would have eclipſed the vigilance and fame of any other Succeſſor, yet Julius Frontinus ſuſtained in his turn the mighty taſk; and, as he was a man as great and able as he found ſcope and ſafety to be, he, by the ſword, utterly ſubdued the powerful and warlike Nation of the Silures; though, beſides the bravery of the enemy, he was likewiſe obliged to ſtruggle with the difficulties of places and ſituation.

Such was the condition in which Agricola found Britain, ſuch to have been the viciſſitudes of the war there, upon his arrival about the middle of ſummer, a time when the Roman ſoldiers, ſuppoſing the ſervice of the ſeaſon to be concluded, were ſecurely bent upon inaction and repoſe, as were the enemy, upon any opportunity, to annoy the Romans. The Community of the Ordovicians had

not

not long before his coming ſlaughtered, almoſt intirely, a band of horſe ſtationed upon their confines; and by an eſſay ſo notable, the Province in general became rouſed; while ſuch as were intent upon preſent war, commended the action, as an example and a call to the whole, and others were for delaying till they had diſcovered the ſpirit of the new Lieutenant-General. Now though the ſummer were over, though the troops were ſevered and lay diſperſed over the Province, though the ſoldiers had aſſured themſelves of reſt for the reſidue of the year (a heavy obſtacle and very diſcouraging to one who is commencing war) nay, though many judged it better only to guard the places which were threatened and precarious; yet Agricola determined to meet the danger. Hence drawing together the choice bands of the Legions, with a ſmall body of Auxiliaries, he led them againſt the Ordovicians; and as theſe dared not deſcend into equal ground, he, who by ſharing equal danger, would inſpire his men with equal courage, marching in perſon before his army, conducted them to the encounter upon the aſcent. Almoſt the whole Nation was here cut off; but as he was well aware, that it behoved him to urge and maintain this his fame, and that with the iſſue of his firſt attempts all the reſt would correſpond, he conceived a deſign to reduce the Iſle of Angleſey, a conqueſt from which Paulinus was recalled by the general revolt of Britain, as above I have recounted. But, as this counſel was ſuddenly concerted, and therefore ſhips were found wanting, ſuch was the firmneſs and capacity of the General, that without ſhips he tranſported his men. From the Auxiliaries he detached all their choſen men, ſuch as knew the fords, and, according to the uſage of their country, were dextrous in ſwimming, ſo as, in the

the water, at once to manage themſelves, and their horſes and arms. Theſe, unincumbered with any of their baggage, he cauſed to make a deſcent and onſet ſo ſudden, that the enemy were quite ſtruck with conſternation, as men who apprehended nothing but a Fleet and Tranſports, and a formal invaſion by ſea, and now believed no enterprize difficult and inſurmountable to ſuch as came thus determined to war. Thus they ſued for peace, and even ſurrendered the Iſland; and thence Agricola was already conſidered as a very great and even renowned Commander: For that, at his firſt entrance into the Province, a time which others Governors are wont to waſte in ſhew and parade, or in courting compliment and addreſſes, he preferred feats of labour and of peril. Nor did he apply this his good fortune and ſucceſs to any purpoſe of vain-glory: So that upon the bridling of ſuch as were vanquiſhed before, he would not beſtow the title of an expedition or of victory; nor, in truth, would he ſo much as with the bare honour of the laurel diſtuinguiſh theſe his exploits. But even by diſguiſing his fame, he enlarged it; as men conſidered how vaſt muſt be his future views, when he thus ſmothered in ſilence deeds ſo noble.

For the reſt; as he was acquainted with the temper of the people in his Province; as he had alſo learned from the conduct and experience of others, that little is gained by arms where grievances and oppreſſions follow, he determined to cut off all the cauſes of war. Beginning therefore with himſelf, and thoſe appertaining to him, he checked and regulated his own houſhold; a taſk which to many proves not leſs difficult than that of governing a Province. By none of his domeſtics, bond or freed, was aught that concerned the public tranſacted. In raiſing the ſoldiers to a ſuperior claſs, he was ſwayed by no perſonal intereſt or partiality, nor by the recom-

recommendation and ſuit of the Centurions, but by his own opinion and perſuaſion, that the beſt ſoldiers were ever the moſt faithful. All that paſſed he would know ; though all that was amiſs he would not puniſh. Upon ſmall offences he beſtowed pardon ; for ſuch as were great he exerciſed proportionable ſeverity. Nor did he always exact the puniſhment aſſigned, but frequently was ſatisfied with compunction and remorſe. In conferring offices and employments, he rather choſe men who would not tranſgreſs, than ſuch as he muſt afterwards condemn for tranſgreſſing. Though the impoſition of Tribute and of Grain had been augmented, yet he ſoftened it by cauſing a juſt and equal diſtribution of all public burdens ; ſince he aboliſhed whatever exactions had been deviſed for the lucre of particulars, and were therefore borne with more regret than the Tribute itſelf. For, the inhabitants were forced to bear the mockery of attending at their own barns, locked up by the Publicans, and of purchaſing their own corn of the Monopoliſts, nay, of ſelling it afterwards back again at a poor price. They were moreover enjoined to take long journies, and carry grain croſs the ſeveral Countries to places extremely diſtant ; inſomuch that the ſeveral Communities, inſtead of ſupplying the Winter-quarters which lay adjoining, muſt furniſh ſuch as were remote and difficultly travelled, to the end, that what was eaſy to be had by all, might produce gain to a few.

By ſuppreſſing theſe grievances immediately in his firſt year, he gained a high character to a ſtate of peace ; a ſtate which, either through the neglect or connivance of his Predeceſſors, was till then dreaded no leſs than that of war. But, upon the coming of ſummer, he aſſembled his army; then proceeded to commend ſuch of the men who in marching obſerved their duty and rank, and to check

check ſuch as were looſe and ſtraggling. He himſelf always choſe the ground for encamping: The ſalt marſhes, friths and woods he himſelf always firſt examined, and to the enemies all the while allowed not a moment's quiet or receſs, but was ever diſtreſſing them with ſudden incurſions and ravages. Then, having ſufficiently alarmed and terrified them, his next courſe was to ſpare them, thus to tempt them with the ſweetneſs and allurements of peace. By this conduct, ſeveral Communities, which till that day had aſſerted a ſtate of equality and independence, came to lay down all hoſtility, gave hoſtages, and were begirt with Garriſons and Fortreſſes, erected with ſuch juſt contrivance and care, that no part of Britain, hitherto known, eſcaped thenceforward from being annoyed by them.

The following Winter was employed in meaſures extremely advantageous and ſalutary. For, to the end that theſe people, thus wild and diſperſed over the Country, and thence eaſily inſtigated to war, might, by a taſte of pleaſures, be reconciled to inactivity and repoſe, he firſt privately exhorted them, then publicly aſſiſted them, to build temples, houſes, and places of aſſembling. Upon ſuch as were willing and aſſiduous in theſe purſuits he heaped commendations, and reproofs upon the lifeleſs and ſlow. So that a competition for this diſtinction and honour, had all the force of neceſſity. He was already taking care to have the ſons of their Chiefs taught the liberal Sciences, already preferring the natural capacity of the Britons to the ſtudied acquirements of the Gauls; and ſuch was his ſucceſs, that they who had ſo lately ſcorned to learn the Roman language, were become fond of acquiring the Roman eloquence. Thence they began to honour our apparel, and the uſe of the Roman gown grew frequent amongſt them. By degrees they proceeded to the incitements and charms

of

of vice and diſſoluteneſs, to magnificent galleries, ſumptuous bagnios, and all the ſtimulations and elegance of banqueting. Nay, all this innovation was, by the unexperienced, ſtiled politeneſs and humanity, when it was indeed part of their bondage.

During the third year of his command, in purſuit of his conqueſts he diſcovered new people, by continuing his devaſtations through the ſeveral nations quite to the mouth of the Tay: So the Frith is called. Whence ſuch terror ſeized the foe, that they durſt not attack our Army though ſorely ſhaken and annoyed by terrible tempeſts: Nay, the Romans had even time to ſecure poſſeſſion by erecting forts. It was obſerved of Agricola by men of experience, that never had any Captain more ſagely choſen his ſtations for commodiouſneſs and ſituation; for that no place of ſtrength founded by him, was ever taken by violence, or abandoned upon articles or deſpair. From theſe their ſtrong holds frequent excurſions were made; for, againſt any long ſiege they were ſupplied with proviſions for a year. Thus they paſſed the Winter there without all apprehenſion: Every ſingle Fort defended itſelf. So that, in all their attempts upon them, the enemies were baffled, and thence reduced to utter deſpair; for that they could not, as formerly they were wont, repair their loſſes in the Summer by their ſucceſs in the Winter; ſince now, whether it were Winter or Summer, they were equally defeated. Neither did Agricola ever arrogate to himſelf the glory of exploits performed by others: Were he a Centurion, or were he Commander of a Legion, in the General he was ſure to find a ſincere witneſs of his atchievements. By ſome he is ſaid to have been over-ſharp in his reproofs, ſince he was one who, as to them that were good he abounded in courteſy, appeared withal ſtern and unpleaſant to the bad.

But

But from his anger no ſpleen remained. In him you had no dark reſerves, no boding ſilence to fear. More honourable he thought it to give open offence, than to foſter ſecret hate.

The fourth Summer was employed in ſettling and ſecuring what territories he had over-run: Indeed, would the bravery of the Armies, and the glory of the Roman Name, have ſuffered it, there had been then found in Britain itſelf a boundary to our conqueſts there. For, into the rivers Glota and Bodotria the tide, from each oppoſite ſea, flows ſo vaſtly far up the country, that their heads are parted only by a narrow neck of land, which was now ſecured with garriſons. Thus of all on this ſide we were already maſters; ſince the enemy were driven, as it were, into another Iſland.

In the fifth year of the War, Agricola paſſing the Frith, himſelf in the firſt ſhip that landed, in many and ſucceſsful encounters ſubdued Nations till that time unknown, and placed forces in that part of Britain which fronts Ireland, more from future views than from any preſent fear. In truth, Ireland, as it lies juſt between Britain and Spain, and is capable of an eaſy communication with the coaſt of Gaul, would have proved of infinite uſe in linking together theſe powerful limbs of the Empire. In ſize it is inferior to Britain, but ſurpaſſes the Iſlands in our ſea. In ſoil and climate, as alſo in the temper and manners of the natives, it varies little from Britain: Its Ports and Landings are better known, through the frequency of Commerce and Merchants. A petty King of the Country, expelled by domeſtic diſſention, was already received into protection by Agricola, and, under the appearance of friendſhip, reſerved for a proper occaſion. By him I have often heard it declared, that with a ſingle Legion and a few Auxiliaries, Ireland might be conquered and preſerved; nay, that ſuch an acquiſition were of moment

moment for the ſecuring of Britain, if, on all ſides the Roman arms were ſeen, and all national Liberty baniſhed, as it were out of ſight.

For the reſt; on the ſummer which began the ſixth year of his Adminiſtration, as it was apprehended, that the nations forward would univerſally take arms, and that the ways were all infeſted with the enemy's hoſt, his firſt ſtep was to coaſt and explore the large Communities beyond Bodotria by the means of his Fleet, which was from the beginning employed by him as part of his forces, and in attending him at this time made a glorious appearance, when thus, at once, by ſea and land, the war was urged. In truth, the ſame Camp often contained the foot, and the horſe, and the marines, all intermixed, and rejoicing in common, ſeverally magnifying their own feats, their own hazards, and adventures: Here were diſplayed the horrors of ſteep mountans and diſmal foreſts; there the outrages of waves aud tempeſts. Theſe boaſted their exploits by land, and againſt the foe: Thoſe the vanquiſhed Ocean; all vying together, according to the uſual vaunts and oſtentation of ſoldiers. Upon the Britons alſo, as from the captives was learned, the ſight of the Fleet brought much conſternation and diſmay; as if, now that their ſolitary Ocean and receſſes of the deep were diſcloſed and invaded, the laſt refuge of the vanquiſhed was cut off. To action and arms the ſeveral people inhabiting Caledonia had immediate recourſe, and advanced with great parade, made ſtill greater by common rumour, (as uſual in things that are unknown) for that they daringly aſſailed our forts, and by thus inſulting and defying us, created much fear and alarm. Nay, there were ſome who, covering real cowardiſe under the guiſe of prudence and counſel, exhorted a return to the nether ſide of Bodotria, for that it were more eligible to retire back,

back, than to be driven. He was apprized the while, that the enemy meant to attack him in divers bands: So that, as they ſurpaſſed him in numbers, and in the knowledge of the country, he too divided his army into three parts, and thus marched, to prevent their ſurrounding him.

As ſoon as this diſpoſition of his was known to the enemy, they ſuddenly changed theirs, and all in a body proceeded to fall upon the ninth Legion, as the leaſt ſufficient and weakeſt of all; and, as the aſſault was in the night, they ſlew the guards and entered the trenches, aided by the general ſleep or general diſmay there. They were already purſuing the fight in the Camp itſelf, when Agricola having from his ſpies learnt what rout the enemy had taken, and cloſely following their track, commanded the lighteſt of his foot and cavalry to charge them, whilſt yet engaged, in the rear, and the whole army preſently after to give a mighty ſhout. Moreover, at break of day, the Roman Banners were beheld refulgent. Thus were the Britons diſmayed with double peril and diſtreſs; and to the Romans their courage returned. Hence, ſeeing their lives ſecure, they now maintained the conflict for glory. They even returned the attack upon the enemy: Inſomuch that in the very gates of the Camp a bloody encounter enſued, till the enemy were quite routed; for both theſe our armies exerted their might, the one contending to ſhew that they had brought relief, the other to appear not to have wanted aſſiſtance. Indeed, had not the woods and marſhes ſerved for ſhelter to the fugitives, by this victory the war had been determined.

By this ſucceſs, with ſuch valour gained, and followed with ſuch renown, the army was become elated and reſolute. With fierce dinn they cried, 'That to their bravery nothing could prove inſur-'mountable. They muſt penetrate into the heart

'of

'of Caledonia, and advance in a continual ſuc-
'ceſſion of battles, till they had at laſt found the
'utmoſt limits of Britain.' Thus it was that they, who a little before had been ſo wary and ſo wiſe, were now, after the event was determined, grown full of boaſts and intrepidity. Such is the lot of warfare, very unequal and unjuſt: In ſucceſs all men aſſume part: The diſaſters are all imputed to one. Now the Britons, conjecturing the victory to proceed not from ſuperior courage, but from circumſtances well improved, and from the addreſs of our General, loſt nothing of their ſpirit and defiance, but armed their young men, removed their wives and children into places of ſecurity, and in general Conventions of their ſeveral Communities engaged them in a league ratified by ſolemn ſacrifices. And thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both ſides abundantly irritated.

During the ſame ſummer, a Cohort of Uſipians, levied in Germany and thence tranſported to Britain, adventured upon a feat very deſperate and memorable. When they had ſlain the Centurion and ſoldiers placed amongſt them for training them in diſcipline, and to ſerve them for patterns and directors, they embarked in three pinnaces, forcing the pilots to conduct them; and ſince one of theſe forſook them and fled away, they ſuſpected and therefore killed the other two. As the attempt was not yet divulged, their launching into the deep was beheld as a wonder. Anon they were toſſed hither and thither at the mercy of the waves: And, as they often engaged for ſpoil with ſeveral of the Britons, obliging them to defend their property thus invaded, in which conflicts they frequently proved victorious, and were ſometimes defeated, they were at laſt reduced to want ſo preſſing, as to feed upon one another, firſt upon the weakeſt, then upon whomſoever the lot fell. In this manner were they

carried round about Britain, and having loſt their veſſels through ignorance how to manage them, they were accounted robbers and pyrates, and fell into the hands firſt of the Suevians, afterwards of the Friſians. Nay, as they were bought and ſold for ſlaves, ſome of them, through change of maſters, were brought over to our ſide of the Rhine, and grew famous from the diſcovery of an adventure ſo extraordinary.

In the beginning of the ſummer, Agricola ſuffered a ſore blow in his family, by loſing his ſon born about a year before: A misfortune which he neither bore with an oſtentation of firmneſs and unconcern, like many other men of magnanimity, nor with lamentations and tears worthy only of women. Beſides that for this affliction war proved one of his remedies. When therefore he had ſent forward the Navy, which by committing devaſtations in ſeveral places, would not fail to ſpread a mighty and perplexing terror, he put himſelf at the head of his army lightly equipped, and to it had added ſome of the braveſt Britons, ſuch as had been well proved through a long courſe of Peace. Thus he arrived at the Grampian Hills, upon which the enemy were already encamped. For, the Britons, nothing daunted by the iſſue of the former battle, and boldly waiting either to take vengeance or to ſuffer bondage, taught withal at laſt, that a general union was the beſt way to repel common danger, had, by embaſſies and confederacies, drawn together the forces of all their Communities. Even then were to be ſeen thirty thouſand men in arms, and their youth from every quarter were ſtill continuing to flock in, as were alſo ſuch of their elderly men as were yet vigorous and hale, they who were ſignal in war, and now carried with them their ſeveral enſigns of honour formerly gained in the field.

And now Galgacus, he who amongſt their ſeveral Leaders ſurpaſſed all in valour and deſcent, is ſaid to have ſpoke in this ſtrain to the multitude all very preſſing for battle.

'Whenever I contemplate the cauſes of the 'War, and the neceſſity to which we are reduced, 'great is my confidence that this day and this 'union of yours will prove the beginning of uni-'verſal Liberty to Britain. For, beſides that Bon-'dage is what we have never borne, we are ſo beſet 'that beyond us there is no further land; nor, in 'truth, is there any ſecurity left us from the ſea 'whilſt the Roman Fleet is hovering upon our 'coaſts. Thus the ſame expedient which proves 'honourable to brave men, is to cowards too be-'come the ſafeſt of all others, even preſent recourſe 'to battle and arms. The other Britons, in their 'paſt conflicts with the Romans, whence they 'found various ſucceſs, had ſtill a remaining ſource 'of hope and ſuccour in this our Nation. For, 'of all the people of Britain we are the nobleſt, and 'thence placed in its innermoſt regions; and, as 'we behold not ſo much as the coaſts of ſuch as 'are ſlaves, we thus preſerve even our eyes free and 'unprofaned by the ſight of lawleſs and uſurped 'rule. To us who are the utmoſt inhabitants of 'the earth, to us the laſt who enjoy Liberty, this 'extremity of the Globe, this remote tract un-'known even to common fame, has to this day 'proved the only protection and defence. At pre-'ſent the utmoſt boundary of Britain is laid open; 'and to conquer parts unknown, is thought matter 'of great pomp and boaſting. Beyond us no more 'people are found, nor aught ſave ſeas and rocks; and 'already the Romans have advanced into the heart 'of our country. Againſt their pride and domi-'neering you will find it in vain to ſeek a remedy or

'refuge

'refuge from any obſequiouſneſs or humble beha-
'viour of yours. They are plunderers of the earth,
'who, in their univerſal devaſtations, finding coun-
'tries to fail them, inveſtigate and rob even the
'ſea. If the enemy be wealthy, he inflames their
'avarice; if poor, their ambition. They are ge-
'neral ſpoilers, ſuch as neither the Eaſtern World
'nor the Weſtern can ſatiate. They only of all
'men thirſt after acquiſitions both poor and rich,
'with equal avidity and paſſion. To ſpoil, to but-
'cher, and to commit every kind of violence, they
'ſtile by a lying name, *Government*, and, when
'they have ſpread a general deſolation, call it
'*Peace*.

'Deareſt to every man are his Children and
'Kindred, by the contrivance and deſignation of
'nature. Theſe are ſnatched from us for recruits,
'and doomed to bondage in other parts of the earth.
'Our Wives and Siſters, however they eſcape rapes
'and violence as from open enemies, are debauched
'under the appearance and privilege of friendſhip
'and hoſpitality. Our Fortunes and Poſſeſſions
'they exhauſt for tribute, our Grain for their pro-
'viſions. Even our bodies and limbs are extenuated
'and waſted, whilſt we are doomed to the drudgery
'of making Cuts through woods and Drains in
'bogs, under continual blows and outrages. Such
'as are born to be Slaves are but once ſold, and
'thenceforward nouriſhed by their Lords: Britain
'is daily paying for its Servitude, is daily feeding
'it. Moreover, as in a tribe of houſhold Slaves,
'he who comes laſt ſerves for ſport to all his Fel-
'lows; ſo in this ancient ſtate of Slavery to which
'the World is reduced, we, as the freſheſt Slaves,
'and thence held the moſt contemptible, are now
'deſigned to final deſtruction. For, we have no
'Fields to cultivate, nor Mines to dig, nor Ports
'to make; works for which they might be tempted

‘ to ſpare us alive: Beſides that ever diſtaſteful to
‘ Rulers is magnanimity and a daring ſpirit in their
‘ Subjects. Indeed, our very ſituation, ſo ſolitary
‘ and remote, the more ſecurity it affords to us,
‘ does but raiſe the greater jealouſy in them. See-
‘ ing therefore you are thus bereft of all hopes of
‘ mercy, rouſe now at laſt all your courage, both
‘ you to whom life is deareſt, and you to whom
‘ glory. The Brigantes, even under the leading
‘ of a Woman, burned their Colony, ſtormed their
‘ entrenchments, and, had not ſuch ſucceſs dege-
‘ nerated into ſloth, might have quite caſt off the
‘ yoke of ſlavery. Let us who ſtill preſerve our
‘ Forces intire, us who are ſtill unſubdued, and
‘ want not to acquire Liberty, but only to ſecure
‘ it, manifeſt at once, upon the firſt encounter,
‘ what kind of men they are that Caledonia hath
‘ reſerved for her own vindication and defence.

‘ Do you indeed believe the Romans to be equally
‘ brave and vigorous in war, as during peace they
‘ are vicious and diſſolute? From our quarrels and
‘ diviſions it is that they have derived their renown,
‘ and thus convert the faults of their enemies to
‘ the glory of their own Army; an Army com-
‘ pounded of many Nations ſo different, that as
‘ it is ſucceſs alone which holds them together, mis-
‘ fortunes and diſaſters will ſurely diſſolve them.
‘ Unleſs you ſuppoſe that the Germans there, that
‘ the Gauls, and many of the Britons (whom with
‘ ſhame I mention) men who however have been
‘ all much longer their enemies than their Slaves,
‘ are yet attached to them by any real fidelity and
‘ affection, whilſt preſenting their blood to eſtabliſh
‘ a domination altogether foreign and unnatural to
‘ them all. What reſtrains them is no more than
‘ awe and terror, frail bonds of endearment; and
‘ when theſe are removed, ſuch who ceaſe to fear,
‘ will immediately begin to manifeſt their hate.

'Amongſt us is found whatever can ſtimulate men 'to victory. The Romans have no Wives to hear-'ten and to urge them. They have here no Fa-'thers and Mothers to upbraid them for flying. 'Many of them have no country at all, or at leaſt 'their country is elſewhere. But a few in num-'ber they are, ignorant of the region and thence 'ſtruck with dread, whilſt to their eyes, whatever 'they behold around them, is all wild and ſtrange, 'even the air and ſky, with the woods and the ſea; 'ſo that the Gods have in ſome ſort delivered them 'encloſed and bound into our hands.

'Be not diſmayed with things of mere ſhew, 'and with a glare of gold and ſilver: This is what 'can neither wound, nor ſave. In the very hoſt 'of the enemy we ſhall find bands of our own. 'The Britons will own and eſpouſe their own ge-'nuine cauſe. The Gauls will recollect their for-'mer Liberty. What the Uſipians have lately done, 'the other Germans will do, and abandon the Ro-'mans. Thereafter nothing remains to be feared. 'Their Forts are ungarriſoned; their Colonies re-'pleniſhed with the aged and infirm; and between 'the people and their magiſtrates, whilſt the for-'mer are averſe to obedience, and the latter rule 'with injuſtice, the municipal Cities are weakened 'and full of diſſentions. Here you ſee a General, 'here an Army: There you may behold Tributes 'and the Mines, with all the other train of cala-'mities and curſes ever purſuing men enſlaved. 'Whether all theſe are to be for ever impoſed, or 'whether we forthwith avenge ourſelves for the at-'tempt, this very field muſt determine. As there-'fore you advance to battle, look back upon your 'anceſtors, look forward to your poſterity.'

They received his ſpeech joyfully, with chant-ings, and terrible dinn, and many diſſonant ſhouts, after the manner of Barbarians. Already too their

bands moved, and the glittering of their arms appeared, as all the moſt reſolute were running to the front: Moreover, the Army was forming in battle array, when Agricola, who indeed ſaw his ſoldiers full of alacrity, and hardly to be reſtrained even by expreſs cautions, yet choſe to diſcourſe to them in the following ſtrain. 'It is now the eighth year, 'my fellow-ſoldiers, ſince, through the virtue and 'auſpicious fortune of the Roman Empire, and by 'your own ſervices and fidelity, you have been 'purſuing the conqueſt of Britain. In ſo many 'expeditions that you have undertaken, in ſo many 'battles as you have fought, you have ſtill had 'conſtant occaſion either to be exerting your bra-'very againſt the foe, or your patience and pains 'even againſt the obſtacles of nature. Neither, 'during all theſe ſtruggles, have we found any 'cauſe of mutual regret, I to have conducted ſuch 'ſoldiers, or you to have followed ſuch a Captain. 'We have both paſſed the limits which we found, 'I thoſe known to the ancient Governors, you thoſe 'of former Armies, and we poſſeſs the very ex-'tremity of Britain, not only in the bruitings of 'fame and vulgar rumor, but poſſeſs it with our 'camps and arms. Britain is entirely diſcovered, 'and entirely ſubdued. In truth, as the Army has 'been marching, whilſt, in paſſing moraſſes, and 'mountains, and rivers, you have been fatigued and 'diſtreſſed, I was wont to hear every man remark-'ably brave aſk, *When ſhall we ſee the enemy, when 'be led to battle?* Already they are come, rouſed 'from their faſtneſſes and lurking holes. Here you 'ſee the end of all your wiſhes, here ſcope for all 'your valour, and all things promiſing and pro-'pitious, if you conquer; but all croſs and diſ-'aſtrous, ſhould you be vanquiſhed. For, as to 'have thus marched over a tract of country ſo im-'menſe, to have paſſed through gloomy foreſts, to

'have

'have croſſed arms of the Deep, is matter of glory
'and applauſe whilſt we advance againſt the ene-
'my; ſo if we fly before them, whatever is now
'moſt in our favour, will then prove moſt to our
'peril. We know not the ſituation of the Coun-
'try ſo well as they know it; we have not pro-
'viſions ſo abundant as they have; but we have
'limbs and arms, and in theſe all things. For my-
'ſelf; it is a rule long ſince ſettled by me, that
'ſafety there is none, either to the Army or to the
'General, in turning their backs upon the foe:
'Hence it is not only more eligible to loſe life ho-
'nourably than to ſave it baſely, but ſecurity and
'renown both ariſe from the ſame ſource. Neither
'would it be a fate void of glory to fall in this the
'utmoſt verge of earth and of nature.

'Were the people now arrayed againſt you ſuch
'as were new to you, were you to engage with
'bands never before tried, I ſhould animate you by
'the examples of other Armies. At preſent, only
'recollect and enumerate your own ſignal exploits,
'only aſk and conſult your own eyes. Theſe are
'they whom but the laſt year you utterly diſcom-
'fited, only by the terror of your ſhouting, when,
'truſting to the darkneſs of the night, they by
'ſtealth attacked a ſingle Legion. Theſe are they
'who of all the Britons are the moſt abandoned
'to fear and flight, and thence happen thus long to
'ſurvive all the reſt. It is with us as with thoſe
'who make inroads into woods and foreſts: As
'beaſts of the greateſt ſtrength there, are driven
'thence by the ſuperior force of ſuch as purſue
'them, and as the timorous and ſpiritleſs fly even
'at the cry of the purſuers: In like manner, all
'the braveſt Britons are long ſince fallen by the
'ſword. They that remain are only a crowd,
'fearful and effeminate: Nor can you conſider them
'as men whom you have therefore reached, be-

'cauſe they have perſiſted to oppoſe you, but as 'ſuch whom you have ſurprized as the laſt and for-'lorn of all, who ſtruck with dread and bereft of 'ſpirit, ſtand benummed in yonder field, whence 'you may gain over them a glorious and memor-'able victory. Here compleat all your expeditions 'and efforts: Here cloſe a ſtruggle of fifty years 'with one great and important day, ſo that to the 'Army may not be imputed either the procra-'ſtination of the War, or any cauſe for reviving 'it.'

Apparent, even whilſt Agricola ſpoke, was the ardor of the ſoldiers, mighty their tranſport and applauſe at the end of his ſpeech, and inſtantly they flew to their arms. Thus inflamed and urging to engage, he formed them ſo that the ſtrong band of auxiliary foot, who were eight thouſand men, compoſed the center. The wings were environed with three thouſand horſe. The Legions without advancing ſtood embattled juſt without the entrenchments; for that mighty would be the glory of the victory, were it, by ſparing them, gained without ſpilling any Roman blood; and they were ſtill a ſure ſtay and ſuccour, ſhould the reſt be repulſed. The Britiſh Hoſt was ranged upon the riſing grounds, at once for ſhew and terror, in ſuch ſort that the firſt band ſtood upon the plain, and the reſt roſe ſucceſſively upon the brows of the hills, one rank cloſe above another, as if they had been linked together. Their cavalry and chariots of war filled the interjacent field with great tumult and boundings to and fro. Agricola then, fearing, from the ſurpaſſing multitude of the enemy, that he might be beſet at once in the front and on each flank, opened and extended his hoſt. Yet, though thence his ranks muſt prove more relaxed, and many adviſed him to bring on the Legions, he, who rather entertained a ſpirit of hope, and in all difficulties was

ever

ever firm, diſmiſſed his horſe, and advanced on foot before the Banners.

In the beginning of the onſet the conflict was maintained at a diſtance. The Britons, who were poſſeſſed at once of bravery and ſkill, armed with their huge ſwords and ſmall bucklers, quite eluded our miſſive weapons, or beat them quite off, whilſt of their own they poured a torrent upon us, till Agricola encouraged three Batavian Cohorts and two of the Tungrians, to cloſe with the enemy, and bring them to an engagement hand to hand; as what was with thoſe Veteran ſoldiers a long practice, and become familiar, but to the enemy very uneaſy and embarraſſing, as they were armed with very little targets and with ſwords of enormous ſize. For, the ſwords of the Britons, which are blunt at the end, are unfit for grapling, and cannot ſupport a cloſe encounter. Hence the Batavians thickened their blows, wounded them with the iron boſſes of their bucklers, mangled their faces, and, bearing down all who withſtood them upon the plain, were already carrying the attack up to the hills: Inſomuch that the reſt of the Cohorts, incited by emulation and ſudden ardor, joined with thoſe, and made havock of all whom they encountered. Nay, ſuch was the impetuoſity and hurry of the victory, that many were left behind but half dead, others not ſo much as wounded. In the mean time their troops of cavalry took to flight: The chariots of war mingled with the battalions of foot; and, though they had ſo lately ſtruck terror, were now themſelves beſet and entangled with our thick bands, as alſo with the unevenneſs and intricacy of the place. Of a combat of cavalry this bore not the leaſt appearance: Since here, ſtanding obſtinately foot to foot, they preſſed to overthrow each other by the weight and bodies of their horſes. Moreover, the war-chariots, now abandoned and ſtraggling, as al-

ſo the horſes deſtitute of managers, and thence wild and affrighted, were running hither and thither, juſt as the next fright drove them; inſomuch that all of their own ſide, who met them, or croſſed their way, were beaten down by them.

Now thoſe of the Britons who were lodged upon the ridges of the hills, and had hitherto no ſhare in the encounter, like men yet preſſed by no peril, looked with ſcorn upon our forces, as but few in number, and began to deſcend ſoftly and to ſurround them in the rear, whilſt they were urging their victory. But Agricola, who had apprehended this very deſign, diſpatched to engage them four ſquadrons of horſe, ſuch as he had reſerved near him for the ſudden exigencies of the field; and, by this foreſight of his, the more furiouſly they had advanced, the more keenly were they repulſed and utterly routed. Thus againſt the Britons themſelves their own devices were turned; and, by the order of the General, the ſquadrons of cavalry which charged in front, wheeled about and aſſailed the enemy behind. Then in truth, all over the open fields was to be ſeen a ſpectacle prodigious and tragical, inceſſant purſuits, wounds and captivity, and the preſent captives always ſlaughtered, as often as others occurred to be taken. Now the enemy behaved juſt as they happened to be prompted by their ſeveral humours. Sometimes they fled in large troops with all their arms, before a ſmaller number that purſued them: Others, quite unarmed, ruſhed into peril, and deſperately preſented themſelves to inſtant death. On all ſides lay ſcattered arms and carcaſſes, and mangled limbs, and the ground was dyed with blood. Nay, now and then, even by the vanquiſhed, was exerted notable wrath and bravery. When once they drew near the woods, they rejoined and rallied, and thus circumvented the foremoſt purſuers, ſuch as, without knowing the country,

try, had raſhly ventured too far. Whence we muſt have ſuffered ſome notable diſaſter, from ſuch confidence void of caution, had not Agricola, who was aſſiduouſly viſiting every quarter, ordered the ſtouteſt Cohorts, lightly equipped, to range themſelves in the form of a toil to inveſt them, alſo ſome of the cavalry to diſmount, and enter the ſtrait paſſes, and the reſt of the horſe, at the ſame time, to beat the more open and paſſable parts of the woods. Now, as ſoon as they perceived our forces to continue the purſuit with ranks regular and cloſe, they betook themſelves to open flight, in no united bands as before, nor one man regarding or awaiting another; but quite ſcattered, and each ſhunning any companion, they all made to places far remote and deſart. What ended the purſuit was night, and a ſatiety of ſlaughter. Of the enemy were ſlain ten thouſand. There fell of our men three hundred and forty, amongſt theſe Aulus Atticus, Commander of a Cohort, one by his own youthful heat, as alſo by a fiery horſe, hurried into the midſt of the enemies.

It was, indeed, a night of great joy to the conquerors, both from victory and ſpoil. The Britons, who wandered in deſpair, men and women uttering in concert their diſmal wailings, dragged along their wounded, called to ſuch as were unhurt, deſerted their houſes, nay, in a rage, even ſet them on fire; made choice of lurking holes, then inſtantly forſook them; then met to conſult, and from their counſels gathered ſome hope: Sometimes, upon beholding their deareſt pledges of nature, their ſpirits became utterly ſunk and dejected; ſometimes, by the ſame ſight, they were rouſed into reſolution and fury. Nay, it is very certain, that ſome murdered their children and wives, as an act of compaſſion and tenderneſs. The next day produced a more ample diſplay of the victory; on all ſides a profound ſilence, ſolitary hills, thick

ſmoak riſing from the houſes on fire, and not a living ſoul to be found by the ſcouts. When from theſe, who had been diſpatched out every way, it was learnt, that whither the enemy had fled no certain traces could be diſcovered, and that they had no where rallied in bodies; when the ſummer was likewiſe paſſed, and thence an impoſſibility of extending the operations of war, he conducted his Army into the borders of the Horeſtians. After he had there received hoſtages, he ordered the Admiral of the Fleet to ſail round Britain. For this expedition he was furniſhed with proper forces, and before him was already gone forth the terror of the Roman power: He himſelf the while led on his foot and horſe with a ſlow pace, that thus the minds of theſe new Nations might be awed and diſmayed even by prolonging his march through them: He then lodged his Army in garriſons for the winter. The Fleet too having found a favourable ſea, entered, with great fame, into the Harbour of * Rhutupium: For, from thence it had ſailed, and coaſting along the nethermoſt ſhore of Britain, thither returned.

With this courſe and ſituation of things Agricola by letters acquainted the Emperor; tidings which, however modeſtly recounted, without all oſtentation, or any pomp of words, Domitian received as with joy in his countenance, ſo with anguiſh in his ſoul: Such was his cuſtom. His heart, indeed, ſmote him for his late mock-triumph over the Germans, which he knew to be held in public deriſion; as to adorn it he had purchaſed a number of ſlaves, who were ſo decked in their habits and hair, as to reſemble captives in war. But here a victory mighty and certain, gained by the ſlaughter of ſo many thouſands of the enemy, was univer-

* Suppoſed to be Sandwich Haven.

ſally

ſally ſounded by the voice of fame, and received with vaſt applauſe. Terrible above all things it was to him, that the name of a private man ſhould be exalted above that of the Prince. In vain had he driven from the public Tribunals all purſuits of popular eloquence and fame, in vain repreſſed the renown of every civil accompliſhment, if any other than himſelf poſſeſſed the glory of excelling in war: Nay, however he might diſſemble every other diſtaſte, yet to the perſon of the Empire properly appertained the virtue and praiſe of being a great General. Tortured with theſe anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being ſhut up in ſecret, a certain indication that he was foſtering ſome ſanguinary purpoſe, he at laſt judged it the beſt courſe, upon this occaſion, to hide and reſerve his rancour till the firſt flights of fame were paſſed, and the affection of the Army cooled. For, Agricola held yet the Adminiſtration of Britain.

To him therefore he cauſed to be decreed in Senate the triumphal Ornaments, a Statue crowned with Laurel, with whatever elſe is beſtowed inſtead of a real Triumph, and heightened this his compliment with many expreſſions full of eſteem and honour. He directed, moreover, a general expectation to be raiſed, that to Agricola was deſtined the Province of Syria, a Government then vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus, a man of Conſular quality, ſince the ſame was reſerved only for men of illuſtrious rank. Many there were who believed, that an Imperial Freedman, one much truſted with the ſecret deſigns of his maſter, was by him diſpatched to carry the inſtrument appointing Agricola Governor of Syria, with orders to deliver it to him, were he ſtill in Britain; that the Freedman met Agricola croſſing the Channel, and without once ſpeaking to him, returned directly to Domitian. It is uncertain whether this account be true, or only a

fiction

fiction framed in conformity to the character and genius of the Prince. To his Succeſſor in the mean time Agricola had ſurrendered the Province, now ſettled in perfect peace and ſecurity. Moreover, to prevent all remarks upon the manner of his entry into Rome, from any popular diſtinction paid him, and any concourſe of people to meet him, he utterly declined this obſervance of his friends, and came into the City by night, and by night, as he was directed, went to the Palace. He was there received by the Emperor with a ſhort embrace, but without a word ſaid, then paſſed, undiſtinguiſhed, amongſt the crowd of ſervile Courtiers. Now, in order to ſoften with other and different virtues the reputation of a military man, a name ever diſtaſteful to thoſe who live themſelves in idleneſs, he reſigned himſelf intirely to indolence and repoſe. In his dreſs he was modeſt; in his converſation courteous and free, and never found accompanied with more than one or two of his friends. Inſomuch that many, ſuch eſpecially as are wont to judge of great men by their retinue and parade, all calculated to gain popular admiration, when they had beheld and obſerved Agricola, ſought to know whence proceeded his mighty fame: There were indeed but few who could account for the motives of his conduct.

Frequently, during the courſe of that time, was he accuſed in his abſence before Domitian, and in his abſence alſo acquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor aught elſe ſave the glorious character of the man, and the ſpirit of the Emperor hating all excellence and every virtue. With theſe cauſes there concurred the moſt miſchievous ſort of all enemies, they who extolled him in order to deſtroy him. Moreover, in the commonwealth there enſued ſuch times as would not

permit

permit the name of Agricola to remain unmentioned: So many were the Armies which we had loſt in Mœſia, in Dacia, in Germany, in Pannonia, all by the wretched conduct of our Generals, either altogether impotent or fool-hardy: So many withal were the brave officers, with ſo many bands of men, overthrown and taken. Neither was the queſtion and conteſt now about maintaining the limits of the Empire and guarding the rivers which ſerved for its boundaries, but about defending the ſtanding encampments of the Legions and preſerving our own territories. Thus, when public misfortunes were following one another in a continual train, when every year was become ſignal for calamities and ſlaughters, Agricola was by the common voice of the populace required for the command of our Armies. For, all men were comparing his vigor, his firmneſs, and his mind trained in war, with the ſloth and timidity of the others. With diſcourſes of this ſtrain, it is certain that even the ears of Domitian himſelf were teaſed; whilſt all the beſt of his Freedmen adviſed and preſſed him to this choice, out of pure affection and duty, as did the worſt out of virulence and envy; and to whatever appeared moſt malignant that Prince was ever prone. In this manner was Agricola, as well through his own virtues, as through the baſe management of others, puſhed upon a precipice even of glory.

The year was now arrived when to the lot of Agricola was to fall the proconſulſhip of Aſia or of Africa: And, as Civica had been lately murdered, (even whilſt proconſul of the former province) Agricola was neither unprepared what courſe to purſue, nor Domitian unfurniſhed with an example to follow. It happened too, that certain perſons, apprized of the ſecret purpoſes of the Prince, made it their buſineſs to accoſt Agricola, and aſk him, whether he meant in earneſt to take poſſeſſion of his Province.

Province. Nay, they began, at firſt, indeed, with ſome reſerve, to extol a life of tranquillity and repoſe; anon they proffered their good offices to procure his dimiſſion and excuſe: At laſt, throwing off all diſguiſe, and proceeding at once to diſſuade and to intimidate him, they prevailed with him to be carried with this as his ſuit to Domitian. He, already prepared to diſſemble his ſentiments, and aſſuming a mien of haughtineſs, not only received the petition of Agricola to be excuſed, but when he had granted it, ſuffered himſelf to be preſented with formal thanks. Nor was he aſhamed of conferring a grace ſo unpopular and odious. To Agricola, however, he gave not the ſalary which was wont to be paid to Proconſuls, and which he himſelf had continued to ſome. Whether he were affronted that it was not aſked, or whether reſtrained by his own guilty mind, leſt he might ſeem to have purchaſed with money what he had hindered by his interpoſition and power. It is the nature of men, that whomſoever they injure they hate. Now Domitian was in his temper apt to be ſuddenly tranſported into rage, and, in proportion as he ſmothered his vengeance, the more irreconcileable he always certainly proved. Yet, by the prudence and moderation of Agricola, he was ſoftened. For, by no contumacy of his, nor by any vain oſtentation of a ſpirit of Liberty ill-timed, did he court fame or urge his fate. Let ſuch who are wont to admire things daring and forbidden, know, that even under evil Princes, great men may be produced, and that by the means of modeſty and obſervance, provided theſe be accompanied with application and vigor, they may riſe to an equal meaſure of public eſtimation and praiſe with that of many, who, through a conduct very ſtubborn and precipitate, but of no advantage to the Commonweal, have

diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed themſelves by dying only to gain a great name.

Afflicting to us his family proved the end of his life, ſorrowful to his friends; and even to foreigners and ſuch as knew him not, matter of trouble and condolence. The commonalty likewiſe, and ſuch people as were void of employment *, were not only frequent in their viſits to his houſe, but in all public places, in all particular companies, made him the ſubject of their converſation. Nor, when his death was divulged, was there a ſoul found who either rejoiced at it, or preſently forgot it. What heightened the public commiſeration and concern, was a prevailing rumor, that he was diſpatched by poiſon. That there was any proof of this, I dare not aver. Yet it is true that, during the whole courſe of his illneſs, Domitian cauſed frequent viſits to be made him, indeed much more frequent than Princes are wont to make, both by his favourite Freedmen and moſt truſty Phyſicians; whether through real concern for his health, or ſolicitude to learn the probability of his death. It is well known that, on the day in which he expired, continual accounts were, by meſſengers purpoſely placed, every inſtant tranſmitted to the Emperor, how faſt his end was approaching; and no one believed, that he would thus quicken ſuch tidings, had he been to feel any ſorrow from hearing them. In his face, however, and even in his ſpirit, he affected to ſhew ſome guiſe of grief; for, he was now ſecure againſt the object of his hate, and could more eaſily diſſemble his preſent joy, than lately his fear. It was abundantly notorious how much it rejoiced him, upon reading the laſt Will of Agricola, to find him-

* Or it may be thus tranſlated: 'the body of the 'people, through chiefly intent upon ſuch affairs as 'concerned not the State.'

ſelf

ſelf left joint heir with his excellent Wife and tender Daughter. This he took to have been done out of judgment and choice, and in pure honour to himſelf: So blind and corrupt was his mind rendered by continual flattery, as not to know, that to no Prince but a bad one will any good father bequeath his fortune.

Agricola was born on the thirteenth of June, during the third Conſulſhip of the Emperor Caligula. He died on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, during the Conſulſhip of Collega and Priſcus, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. If poſterity be deſirous to know his make and ſtature; in his perſon he was rather genteel and regular than tall. In his aſpect there was nothing terrible. His looks were extremely gracious and pleaſing. A good man you would have readily believed him, and been glad to have found that he was a great man. Nay, though he was ſnatched away whilſt his age was yet in full vigour, if, however, his life be meaſured by his glory, he attained to a mighty length of days: For, every true felicity and acquiſition, namely, all ſuch as ariſe from virtue, he had already enjoyed to the full. As he had been likewiſe dignified with the Conſular and Triumphal Honours, what more could fortune add to his luſtre and renown? After enormous wealth he ſought not; an honourable ſhare he poſſeſſed. As behind him he left ſurviving his Daughter and his Wife, he may be even accounted happy; ſince, by dying whilſt his credit was no wiſe impaired, his fame in its full ſplendor, his relations and friends yet in a ſtate of ſecurity, he eſcaped the evils to come. For, as before us he was wont to expreſs his wiſhes, that he might ſurvive to ſee this truly bleſſed age, and Trajan ſwaying the Sovereignty, wiſhes which he uttered with preſages as of what would ſurely enſue; ſo it was a wondrous conſolation attending the quickneſs of his death,

death, that thence he evaded the misery of the latter times, when Domitian, who had ceased to exert his Tyranny by starts only and intermissions, was come now to rend the Commonwealth by cruelties without all respite, and to overthrow it, as it were, by one great and deadly stroke.

For, Agricola saw not the Court of the Senate besieged, nor the Senate enclosed by armed men, nor the butchery of so many men of Consular dignity, nor the flight and exile of so many Ladies of the prime Nobility, all effected in one continued havock. Till then Carus Metius, the accuser, was only considerable for having been victorious in one bloody process; till then the cruel motions of Messallinus rang only within the Palace at Alba; and in those days Massa Bebius (afterwards so exercised in arraigning the innocent) was himself arraigned as a criminal. Presently after we, with our own hands, dragged Helvidius to prison and execution: We beheld the melancholy doom of Mauricus and Rusticus: We found ourselves besprinkled with the innocent blood of Senecio. Even Nero withheld his eyes from scenes of cruelty; he, indeed, ordered murders to be perpetrated, but saw not the perpetration. The principal part of our miseries under Domitian, was to be obliged to see him and be seen by him, at a time when all our sighs and sorrows were watched and marked down for condemnation; when that cruel countenance of his, always covered with a settled red, whence he hardened himself against all shame and blushing, served him to mark and recount all the pale horrors at once possessing so many men. Thou therefore, Agricola, art happy, not only as thy life was glorious, but as thy death was seasonable. According to the account of such who heard thy last words, thou didst accept thy fate chearfully and with firmness, as if thou thus didst thy part to shew the Emperor to be guiltless.

guiltleſs. But to myſelf and thy Daughter, beſides the anguiſh of having our Father ſnatched from us, it proves a freſh acceſſion of ſorrow, that we had not an opportunity to attend thee in thy ſickneſs, to ſolace thy ſinking ſpirits, to pleaſe ourſelves with ſeeing thee, pleaſe ourſelves with embracing thee. Doubtleſs, we ſhould have greedily received thy inſtructions and ſayings, and engraved them for ever upon our hearts. This is our woe, this a wound to our ſpirit, that by the lot of long abſence from thee, thou waſt already loſt to us for four years before thy death. There is no queſtion, excellent Father, but that with whatever thy condition required thou waſt honourably ſupplied, as thou waſt attended by thy Wife, one ſo full of tenderneſs for her Huſband: Yet fewer tears accompanied thy coarſe, and during thy laſt moments ſomewhat was wanting to ſatisfy thine eyes.

If for the manes of the juſt any place be found; if, as Philoſophers hold, great ſpirits periſh not with the body, pleaſing be thy repoſe. Moreover, recall us thy family from this our weakneſs in regretting thee, and from theſe our effeminate wailings, to the contemplation of thy virtues, for which it were unjuſt to lament or to mourn. Let us rather adorn thy memory with deathleſs praiſes, and (as far as our infirmities will allow) by purſuing and adopting thy excellencies. This is true honour, this the natural duty incumbent upon every near relation. This is alſo what I would recommend to thy Daughter and thy Wife, ſo to reverence the memory of a Father, and a Huſband, as to be ever ruminating upon all his doings, upon all his ſayings, and rather to adore his immortal name, rather the image of his mind, than that of his perſon. Not that I mean to condemn the uſe of Statues, ſuch as are framed of marble or braſs. But as the perſons of men are frail and periſhing, ſo

are

are likewiſe the portraitures of men. The form of the ſoul is eternal, ſuch as you cannot repreſent and preſerve by the craft of hands, or by materials foreign to its nature, nor otherwiſe than by a ſimilitude and conformity of manners. Whatever we loved in Agricola, whatever we admired, remains, and will for ever remain implanted in the hearts of men, through an eternity of ages, and conveyed down in the voice of Fame, and in the Record of things. For, many of the great Ancients, by being buried in oblivion, have thence reaped the fate of men altogether mean and inglorious: But Agricola ſhall ever ſurvive in his Hiſtory here compoſed and tranſmitted to poſterity.

DISCOURSES

UPON

TACITUS.

DISCOURSE I.

Upon the former Engliſh Tranſlations of TACITUS.

Sect. I. Of the Tranſlation by GREENWAY and Sir H. SAVILL.

I AM going to offer to the public the Tranſlation of a Work, which for wiſdom and force, is in higher fame and conſideration, than almoſt any other that has yet appeared amongſt men; a Work often tranſlated into many Languages, ſeldom well into any, into ours worſt of all. The firſt was done in Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Annals by one Greenway, and four Books of the Hiſtory by Sir Henry Savill, a man exceeding learned, and eſteemed for his critical notes upon Tacitus, as well as for thoſe upon St. Chryſoſtom, of whoſe works he has publiſhed an elaborate edition. But though he was an able Grammarian, and underſtood the Antiquities in Tacitus, and his words, his Tranſlation is a mean performance; his ſtile is ſtiff, ſpiritleſs, and obſcure; he drops many of his Author's ideas, preſerves none of his turns, and ſtarves his meaning even where he beſt conveys it. 'Tis a mere Tranſlation, that rather of one word into another, than that of a dead tongue into a living, or of ſenſe into ſenſe. The Roman idiom is forced

and wire-drawn into the Engliſh, a taſk altogether impoſſible; and not adopted and naturalized, a thing poſſible enough; and out of a Book profuſe in eloquence, fine ſpirit and images, he has drawn a work harſh, halting and barren. Ogilby is not more unlike Virgil. Greenway is ſtill worſe than Savill; he had none of his learning, he had all his faults and more: The former has at leaſt performed like a ſchool-maſter, the latter like a ſchool-boy.

Sect. II. Of the Engliſh Tranſlation by ſeveral hands.

ABOUT a hundred years after them another Engliſh Tranſlation was undertaken by ſeveral hands, Mr. Dryden and others. Dryden has tranſlated the firſt Book; but done it almoſt literally from Mr. Amelot de la Houſſaye, with ſo much haſte and little exactneſs, that beſides his many miſtakes, he has introduced ſeveral Galliciſms: He follows the French author ſervilely, and writes French Engliſh, rather than truſt him out of his eye. It is true, la Houſſaye is an honeſt Tranſlator, and one of the foremoſt: He has gone as far as the thirteenth Annal incluſive; but his phraſes are often weak and trifling, and he is ſubject to all that faintneſs and circumlocution for which the French tongue is noted. Dryden copies his manner as well as his meaning. It was pure hurry and want of application; for he was a fine writer, had a copious imagination, a good ear, and a flowing ſtile. Strike away all that is bad in his works, enough will remain to ſhew him a great Poet, a man of parts and a maſter of language. Even his many enemies and oppoſers ſhew the conſiderableneſs of the man; but his excellencies in many things excuſe not his faults in others; his Tranſlation of Tacitus is poor and languid, no

where

where derived from the original, generally full of miſtakes; at beſt it is only the French Tranſlator ill tranſlated, or ill imitated.

Sect. III. Of the laſt Tranſlation of the firſt Annal.

TACITUS talking of the latter end of Auguſtus his reign, ſays, "domi res tranquillæ. "Eadem magiſtratuum vocabula." Theſe are two ſentences independent of each other; yet Mr. Dryden tranſlates, 'all things at Rome being in a 'ſettled peace, the Magiſtrates ſtill retained their 'former names;' as if the one was all the cauſe of the other. This blunder is owing to la Houſſaye ill underſtood: "tout étoit tranquille à Rome, les "Magiſtrats avoient les mêmes noms:" If inſtead of avoient, he had ſaid ayant, the tranſlation would have come pretty near the French. But the Engliſh Tranſlator does not ſeem to underſtand French, though he has no other guide, elſe how could he ſo miſerably miſtake, "pars multo maxima immi-"nentis dominos variis rumoribus differebant;" as to render it, 'the greater part employed their 'time in various diſcourſes of future matters?" From this it is plain he never looked into the original, or underſtood it not. He was miſled by the French which he appears here to have as little underſtood; "la plus part ſe plaiſoient à faire divers "jugemens de ceux qui aloient devenir leurs Mai-"tres."

But more wretched ſtill is what follows: Tacitus repreſents the Romans diſcourſing, during the decline of Auguſtus, concerning the next ſucceſſors in view, Agrippa Poſthumus and Tiberius, and makes them ſay of Livia the Empreſs; "accedere "matrem muliebri impotentia: ſerviendum feminæ,

" &c." ' His mother of a violent and imperious ' nature, according to the ſex themſelves, ſubjected ' to the ſlavery of a woman.' This is jargon and nonſenſe, tho' the author ſeems to have followed the French; " qui (Tibere) a une mere imperieuſe " & violente, ſelon la coutume du ſexe, à laquelle " il faudra obéir en eſclaves." Well may he be ſaid to follow the French Tranſlator blindly; and leſs is the wonder that he adopts his Galliciſms where he happens to underſtand him.

When Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, entred the Camp of the ſeditious Legions in Pannonia, and the mutinous ſoldiery were gathered round him; Tacitus makes a charming and ſtrong deſcription of their behaviour, with the ſeveral viciſſitudes of their paſſions, which ſhifted ſtrangely according as they dreaded his perſon and authority, or recalled their grievances, and ſurveyed their own numbers and ſtrength; and he concludes the whole, according to his cuſtom, with a fine reflection: " Illi, " quotiens oculos ad multitudinem retulerant, vo- " cibus truculentis ſtrepere; rurſum, viſo Cæſare, " trepidare. Murmur incertum, atrox clamor, & " repente quies; diverſis animorum motibus, pa- " vebant, terrebantque." This is all pretty well tranſlated by la Houſſaye. I ſhall only quote the laſt clauſe or reflection: " par des mouvemens tout " differens, ils prenoient l'épouvante, & la don- " noient;" and this I quote only to ſhew how impotently the Engliſh Tranſlator hangs by the French phraſe and takes it literally: ' by their different ' motions, ſays he, they gave and took terror in ' their turns.'

Is not this pithy and ſounding? There are numbers of ſuch inſtances both as to language and ſtrength; inſomuch that I have been ſometimes tempted to think it not to be Dryden's: but I have many aſſurances of its being his. I take it for granted it

was

was a jobb for the Bookſellers, careleſsly performed by one, who wanted no capacity, but only pains or incouragement to have done it much better, perhaps very well.

Sect. IV. Of the laſt Tranſlation of the ſecond Annal.

THE next Annal is tranſlated by another hand, leſs negligently, but with ſmall taſte and vigour; no reſemblance of the original, where in every ſentence almoſt there occur ſurprizing images and turns, which no where appear in the Tranſlation. 'Tis not the fire of Tacitus, but his embers quenched with Engliſh words cold and Gothick. Let any one read particularly the two ſpeeches of Arminius and Maroboduus to their different armies juſt before they engaged, cap. 45. and 46. and he will find that between Tacitus and his Tranſlator, there is juſt as much difference as between a living ſoul and a cold carcaſe. Yet the lifeleſs Tranſlation of this Annal compared with that of the third by a different hand, is an able performance.

Sect. V. Of the laſt Tranſlation of the third Annal.

THIS tranſlation is in truth wretched beyond belief; 'tis below drollery, and a ſort of a middle between bad ſenſe and good nonſenſe. Tacitus ſays of the arrival of the fleet, which brought Agrippina from Aſia with her huſband's funeral urn, and her children now fatherleſs; "claſſis paulatim "ſucceſſit, non alacri, ut adſolet, remigio, ſed "cunctis ad triſtitiam compoſitis," An. 3. c. 1. 'The fleet (ſays the Tranſlator) came in, not row-

'ing briſkly, as they uſed to do, but ſlowly, and 'with ſorrow in their countenances;' a tranſlation worthy of one who could make Tacitus ſay elſewhere, 'Druſus left the City to enquire his fortune:' Would not one think that he went to ſome remote country to conſult a cunning man? Or meant the Tranſlator to joke upon the religion and ſolemnities of the Romans? The words of Tacitus which he thus perverts, or rather quite drops, are, "Druſus "urbe egreſſus repetendis auſpiciis:" 'Druſus went 'without the gates, to repeat the formality of the 'auſpices.'

Tacitus at the end of his diſcourſe upon laws, ſays, "Cæſar Auguſtus, potentiæ ſecurus, quæ "Triumviratu juſſerat, abolevit, deditque jura, "quis pace & Principe uteremur: acriora ex eo "vincla, inditi cuſtodes, & lege Papia Poppæa "præmiis inducti, ut ſi &c. ſed altius penetrabant, "(cuſtodes, ſcil.) Urbemque & Italiam, & quod "uſquam civium, corripuerant, multorumque ex-"ciſi ſtatus; & terror omnibus intentabatur, niſi "Tiberius ſtatuendo remedio, &c." Now obſerve the force, and elegance, and truth, with which this is rendered by the Tranſlator; 'Auguſtus Ceſar 'being ſettled in his authority, he aboliſhed thoſe 'things he commanded in the Triumvirate, and 'gave new laws to be obſerved in time of peace, 'and under a Monarch. And that they might be 'the better kept, he appointed ſome to look after 'them:' [as if the laws had been a flock of ſheep] 'The law Papia Poppea provided, &c. But the 'informers went farther, not only in the City, but 'thro' all Italy, where any citizens were, ruined 'many families and frightened all. To remedy 'which Tiberius,' &c. A little farther Tacitus ſays, "adverſis animis acceptum, quod filio Claudii "ſocer Sejanus deſtinaretur: polluiſſe nobilitatem "familiæ videbantur, ſuſpectumque jam nimiæ

"ſpei

"ſpei Sejanum ultro extuliſſe." 'There were '(ſays the Tranſlator) great diſcontents upon Clau-'dius's ſon's being to marry Sejanus's daughter as 'a diſparagement to him, [to what him? Sejanus 'was the laſt named.] 'But Sejanus, whoſe am-'bition was ſuſpected, was much exalted upon it.'

Tacitus diſcourſing of the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir, and repreſenting the ſentiments of the people upon that and other alarms, ſays, "increpa-"bant Tiberium, quod in tanto rerum motu, li-"bellis accuſatorum inſumeret operam. An Ju-"lium Sacrovirum majeſtatis crimine reum in Se-"natu fore? Extitiſſe tandem viros, qui cruentas "epiſtolas armis cohiberent: miſeram pacem vel "bello bene mutari. Tanto impenſius in ſecuri-"tatem compoſitus, neque loco, neque vultu mu-"tato, ſed ut ſolitum per illos dies egit: altitudine "animi, an compererat modica eſſe & vulgatis le-"viora." Hear how this is tranſlated. Blaming 'Tiberius for employing himſelf in reading infor-'mers accuſations where there was ſo great com-'motions. What, ſaid they, have the Senate 'found Julius Sacrovir guilty of treaſon? Some 'have had the courage to ſuppreſs by arms the 'bloody libels of a Tyrant; war is a good change 'for a miſerable peace. But he neither changed 'place nor countenance; affecting to ſhew he was 'not afraid, either through courage, or that he 'knew things to be leſs than they were reported.' Was ever good ſenſe ſo vilely burleſqued? were one to ſtudy to ridicule Tacitus, what more miſerable ſtuff, void of all ſenſe and ſound, could one make him utter? It puts me in mind of a notable compliment in an addreſs from a learned Society to the late King; 'We perceive that you are one that is 'not afraid that poſterity ſhould make mention of 'you;' or words of the like force and beauty. Neither have I picked out theſe paſſages invidiouſly,

as the worſt: I have read the whole Annal, and I know no part of it better done.

Sect. VI. Of the laſt Tranſlation of the fourth, fifth, and ſixth Annal.

THE fourth, fifth, and ſixth Annals are done by another hand, and poorly done. In him you find little of the true meaning of Tacitus; of his ſpirit and manner nothing at all; but frequent deviations from his ſenſe, and even from all ſenſe. Tacitus in the Character of Sejanus, ſays; "intus "ſumma apiſcendi libido, ejuſque cauſa modo lar-"gitio & luxus, ſæpius induſtria ac vigilantia, "haud minus noxiæ, quotiens parando regno fin-"guntur." Who but the Tranſlator would have diſcovered, that by theſe words Tacitus meant to declare, that 'virtues are as dangerous as vices, 'when they meet with a turbulent ſpirit aſpiring to 'Empire?' Yet the Tranſlation of this paſſage is as juſt as that of many others. Sometimes he drops whole phraſes and paſſages, ſuch as he knows not what to make of, and oftner loſes out of ſight the meaning of others however plain.

Tacitus ſays, "ut ſeries futuri in Agrippinam "exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra ſobrina ejus poſ-"tulatur, accuſante Domitio Afro. Is recens "prætura, modicus dignationis, & quoquo facinore "properus clareſcere, crimen impudicitiæ, adul-"terum Furnium, veneficia in Principem, & de-"votiones objectabat." 'To begin the ruin of 'Agrippina, [how inſipid and defective!] Domi-'tius Afer lately Pretor [not a word of modicus 'dignationis] and ready to engage in any thing to 'gain himſelf credit [obſerve the force!] accuſes 'Claudia Pulchra of adultery with Furnius [the 'words ſobrina ejus, which explain the reſt, and

'the

'and the word impudicitiæ, one of the articles of 'the charge, are omitted] and to have a deſign on 'the life of that Prince with her charms and per-'ſon:' What Prince? Furnius was none; Tiberius has not been mentioned in ſeveral pages: it is nonſenſe; and 'a deſign on his life with her charms 'and perſon,' multiplies the nonſenſe.

What follows fares not much better: "Agrip-"pina ſemper atrox, tum & periculo propinquæ "accenſa, pergit ad Tiberium." 'Agrippina al-'ways of a violent temper, but at preſent extreme-'ly enraged, runs immediately to Tiberius, &c.' He drops periculo propinquæ, as uſeleſs words.

Tacitus ſays, that amongſt other reaſons aſſigned why Tiberius retired from Rome, ſome alledged the authority aſſumed by his mother; who having perſuaded Auguſtus, contrary to his inclinations, to poſtpone Germanicus and adopt Tiberius, did afterwards upbraid Tiberius with ſo ſignal a ſervice, and even challenged the Empire as her own: "id-"que Auguſta exprobrabat, repoſcebat." 'The 'Empreſs (ſays the Tranſlator) ſeemed to reproach 'him with that favour, and requeſted it for her 'ſon.' What gibberiſh! ſhe had but one ſon, and he had it. She, forſooth, reproached her ſon Tiberius for having given him the Sovereignty, and from the ſame Tiberius claimed it for the ſame Tiberius. Sejanus, once when a cave fell in upon Tiberius and his company, covered the Emperor with his own body: "major ex eo," ſays Tacitus. 'This admirable and undoubted fidelity,' ſays the Tranſlator, which Tacitus never ſaid nor meant. How miſerably too does he tranſlate, "ingentium "bellorum cladem æquavit malum improviſum: "ejus initium ſimul & finis exſtitit." 'Happened 'a calamity in which we ſuſtained as great a loſs 'as in the greateſt defeats, though it was all done

'in an inſtant.' I will venture to ſay, that this is as well done as any other part of all the three Books.

Sect. VII. Of the laſt Tranſlation of the eleventh Annal.

THE eleventh Annal is tranſlated by another Gentleman; but not with another ſpirit: it is like the reſt, full of feebleneſs and miſtakes and low phraſes. I ſhall here give ſome inſtances. The Pleaders, in a ſpeech to the Emperor Claudius, in defence of taking fees, and in anſwer to Silius, who alledged againſt them the example of certain great Orators of the former age who had never taken any; ſay, "facile Aſinium & Meſſalam, inter Antonium & Auguſtum bellorum præmiis refertos, &c." c. 7. 'Aſinius and Meſſala, who feathered their neſts well in the Civil Wars 'twixt 'Anthony,' &c. This is the Language of a chairman, but of a piece with the reſt, ſuch as, a King's "[a] playing the good fellow; [b] trumping up Arminius's title; [c] being equipped with money; "[d] his reputation began to exert itſelf far and near; "[e] ſaw but one poor ſnake; [f] more bloody than "he ought to be; Senators [g] ſquabling in the houſe; "a ſilver mine [h] which bled but a little; [i] it was

[a] Vinolentiam & libidines uſurpans, c. 16.
[b] Fruſtra Arminium præſcribi, c. 16.
[c] Auctum pecunia, c. 16.
[d] Jam longius clareſcere, c. 16.
[e] Unam omnino anguem viſam.
[f] Atrociorem quam novo regno conduceret, c. 9.
[g] Obſtrepentibus his, c. 6.
[h] Unde tenuis fructus, c. 20.
[i] Non eo ventum, c. 26.

"not

" not come to that yet; [k] advice hurts not the " guiltleſs; [l] men had recourſe to impudence when " their ill actions came to be diſcovered: [m] others " were in the ſame predicament with them in that " matter; [n] Claudius as he was eaſily angry, ſo he " was eaſily pleaſed; [o] matrimony the laſt comfort " of thoſe who give themſelves to lewdneſs; [p] affi- " davits of her lewdneſs; [q] the vaſt treaſures given " to Silius for his drudgery." Such cant, jargon, and ill-favoured nonſenſe, is called the Tranſlation of Tacitus.

Sect. VIII. Of the laſt Tranſlation of the twelfth and thirteenth Annals.

THE two ſucceeding Annals are Engliſhed by another hand, and miſerably Engliſhed they are; rather worſe than the former. 'Tis all wretched tittle-tattle, unmeaning and ill-bred; nor could any number of words thrown together at random, without thought or idea, be more ſhallow or vulgar, more deſtitute of ornament or ſound. To paſs by his " top Orators; Knack of ſpeaking; ſtaving " off a war any ways.—He being rectine.——The " Emperor himſelf their worthy. Yea, Gentle- " men and Senators do make no other original to " themſelves but from thence;" and the like gib-

[k] Inſontibus innoxia conſilia, ib.

[l] Flagitiis manifeſtis, ſubſidium ab audacia petendum, ib.

[m] Adeſſe conſcios, ib.

[n] Claudium, ut inſidiis incautum, ita iræ properum, ib.

[o] Nomen matrimonii cupivit, ob magnitudinem infamiæ, cujus apud prodigos noviſſima voluptas eſt, ib.

[p] Codicillos libidinum indices, c. 34.

[q] Quicquid habitum Neronibus & Druſis in precium probri ceſſiſſe, c. 35.

berish which occurs in every sentence: I shall here transcribe a passage where he seems to aim at a meaning and to exceed himself: ' The power his ' mother had over him (Nero) dwindled away by ' degrees, and Nero fell in love with Acte, a freed- ' woman, and made Otho and Claudius Senecio ' the confidents of his new Amour, one of which (to ' wit) Otho, was of a consular family, but Senecio, ' a son of one of Cesar's freedmen; who at first ' without the mother's knowledge, and since in ' spite of all she could do, worked himself by de- ' grees into the Prince's affections, by luxury and ' secret ways, that no body knew, which the best ' friends he had, indulged him in, and were pleased ' to see him take up and content himself with that ' woman, a thing which did no body an injury: ' for he had the misfortune to dislike his wife Oc- ' tavia (whether it be that we naturally slight what ' we can have, and eagerly pursue what is forbidden) ' of an illustrious family, and of an unspotted vir- ' tue, and 'twas feared he might fall into a vein of ' debauching women of quality, if he was checked ' in that intrigue: But Agrippina could not bear ' that a freedwoman should nose her,' &c. That

' Cæterum infracta paulatim potentia matris, delapso Nerone in amorem libertæ, cui vocabulum Acte fuit: simul adsumptis in conscientiam Othone & Claudio Senecione adolescentulis decoris, quorum Otho familia Consulari, Senecio liberto Cæsaris patre genitus, ignara matre, dein frustra obnitente, penitus inrepserant per luxum & ambigua secreta. Ne severioribus quidem Principis amicis adversantibus, muliercula, nulla cujusquam injuriâ, cupidines principis explente: quando uxore ab Octavia, nobili quidem & probitatis spectatæ, fato quodam, an quia prævalent inlicita, abhorrebat: metuebaturque, ne in stupra feminarum inlustrium prorumperet, si illa libidine prohiberetur. Sed Agrippina libertam æmulam, &c. An. 13. C. 12 & 13.

'a freedwoman ſhould bear her,' ſays the old Tranſlation.

How clear, how ſtrong, and how juſt! This is in the thirteenth Book: Take one or two ſamples more out of the twelfth. '[s] 'Twas enacted that 'if they (women) married (to ſlaves) without their 'maſter's conſent, they ſhould remain ſuch' [who ſhould, the women or the ſlaves? the former were none, and could not remain what they were not; and to ſay it of the latter, is nonſenſe.] 'Barea 'Soranus, Conſul elect, moved that Pallas (whom 'Ceſar ſaid was the firſt that brought it into the 'Houſe) ſhould have the Pretorial honours, and fifteen 'millions of Seſterces, and, that Scipio Cornelius 'might have the Thanks of the Houſe, for that 'being deſcended from the Kings of Arcadia, he 'forgot his birth and quality to ſerve the public, 'and was contented to be one of the Prince's ſervants. Claudius aſſured them, that Pallas, ſatisfied with the honour the Senate had done him, 'would live as retiredly as he uſed to do. In ſhort, 'an act was made,' &c.

Theſe two paſſages are as brightly tranſlated as any in the two Books, indeed beyond moſt paſſages.

[s] Inter quæ refertur ad patres, de pœna feminarum, quæ ſervis conjungerentur. Statuiturque, ut ignaro domino ad id prolapſa, in ſervitutem, ſin conſenſiſſet, pro liberto haberetur. Pallanti, quem repertorem ejus relationis ediderat Cæſar, prætoria inſignia, & centies quinquageſies ſeſtercium cenſuit conſul deſignatus Barea Soranus: additum à Scipione Cornelio, grates publice agendas, quod regibus Arcadiæ ortus, veterrimam nobilitatem uſui publico poſtponeret, ſeque inter miniſtros Principis haberi ſineret. Aſſeveravit Claudius, contentum honore Pallantem, intra priorem paupertatem ſubſiſtere. Et fixum eſt ære publico Senatus Conſultum, &c. An. 12. C. 53.

I ſhall

I ſhall quote one more; it is in the thirteenth Annal, cap. 26. It was importunately urged in the Senate that ſuch freedmen as by abuſing their Lords, had ſhewn themſelves unworthy of their liberty, ſhould remain at the mercy of the ſaid Lords, and be ſubject to their former chains, "nec "deerant qui cenſerent, ſays Tacitus, ſed Conſules "relationem incipere non auſi ignaro principe." (i. e.) 'There were Senators too ready to have 'voted for ſuch a Decree; but the Conſuls durſt 'not propoſe it to the vote without acquainting the 'Emperor.' Of all this plain matter the Tranſlator underſtood not one word. He ſays, 'neither 'were there thoſe wanting who would cenſure them '(nec deerant qui cenſerent) but the Conſuls durſt 'not, without the Emperor's knowledge, deter-'mine the matter.'

I cannot omit one polite phraſe more out of this Book. "Suilius Senecam increpans," ſays Tacitus. 'He laid it in Seneca's diſh,' ſays the Tranſlator, c. 42. 'laying it in Seneca's diſh,' ſays the old Tranſlation. He indeed has ſtolen all he knew of Tacitus from the old Tranſlation, with all its blunders and ſtupidity, and improved both notably. Behold another ſpecimen. 'At Rome he cheated 'men of their legacies, and wronged the fatherleſs, 'who were deluded by him[t].' The words of Tacitus are, "Romæ teſtamenta & orbos, velut in-"dagine ejus capi, c. 42.

[t] The old Tranſlation has it, "At Rome he coſened "men of their legacies ſuch as died without children, "as if he had laid a ſnare to entrap them." This is fooliſh, but wiſer than the other.

Sect.

Sect. IX. Of the laſt Tranſlation of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſixteenth Annals.

A Freſh hand has undertaken the three following Annals, and by good fortune ſuch a hand as has preſerved an eminent uniformity with the foregoing; only he is ſomewhat more groſs. Tacitus ſays, it was reported that when Agrippina ſtudied to draw Nero her ſon into an inceſtuous commerce with herſelf, "Senecam contra mulie-"bres inlecebras ſubſidium a femina petiviſſe: im-"miſſamque Acten libertam." 'Seneca (ſays the 'Tranſlator) ſoon brought in Acte, Nero's beloved 'woman, to expel one whore with another.'

When Agrippina had eſcaped the firſt attempt upon her life, ſhe diſſembled, and ſeemed not to think it deſigned, nor to entertain any future apprehenſions: "ſimulata ſecuritate:" 'Under the 'appearance of ſecurity,' (ſays the Tranſlator.) But as Acerronia, one of her maids, had periſhed in that attempt, ſhe ordered her Will to be found, and all her effects to be ſealed up. This ſhe did, ſays Tacitus, without any diſſimulation; "id tan-"tum non per ſimulationem," c. 6. 'She takes 'all neceſſary care (ſays the Tranſlator) for the 'cure of her wound; the Teſtament of Acerronia 'to be looked out, her coffers to be ſealed up, and 'all things neceſſary to be done without the leaſt 'diſſimulation:' How nicely he underſtands the original, and how grammatical is his Engliſh! Here however there ſeems to be ſome meaning aimed at; in what follows, even that is wanting: 'The image 'of the villains who were ſtained with the guilt 'of this parricide, ſtill haunted him.' The words of the original are "obſervabanturque maris illius "& litorum gravis adſpectus," c. 10.

In truth, to expoſe the inſipidneſs and nonſenſe of theſe Annals, were to tranſcribe them. In ſome places he is ſo groſs, that his words will not bear repeating; as particularly where one of Octavia's maids tells Tigellinus, "caſtiora eſſe muliebria Oc- "taviæ quam os ejus." His Tranſlation of this is abominable, as well as ridiculous and falſe; and many ſuch like inſtances there are in him. I beg leave to quote one ſhort paſſage more out of this Annal. When that Lady was by the Tyrant divorced, and baniſhed into Campania under a guard; "inde crebri queſtus, ſays Tacitus, nec occulti per "vulgum, cui minor ſapientia, & ex mediocritate "fortunæ pauciora pericula ſunt," c. 60. This is a fine reflection; obſerve how execrably it is rendred: 'Upon the clamour of the people (who hav- 'ing nothing to loſe, are commonly fearleſs, not 'out of any love or relenting at his ſeverity) this 'was remitted.'

The fifteenth Annal is done juſt like the fourteenth, wretchedly. Here follows a ſpecimen: Corbulo and Ceſennius Petus commanded in the Eaſt: "ſed neque Corbulo æmuli patiens (ſays Tacitus) "& Pætus, cui ſatis ad gloriam erat, ſi proximus "haberetur, deſpiciebat geſta, nihil cædis aut præ- "dæ, uſurpatas nomine tenus urbium expugna- "tiones, dictitans: ſe tributa ac leges, & pro um- "bra Regis Romanum jus victis impoſiturum," c. 6. The misfortune was, (ſays the Tranſlator) 'the 'one was impatient of a rival, and the other could 'not endure a ſuperior; and Petus, who ought to 'have contented himſelf in being ſecond to Cor- 'bulo, ever took pleaſure to diminiſh the glory of 'his actions, upbraiding him that his victory in 'taking of towns was imaginary, without conqueſt 'or plunder. That he would impoſe laws and de- 'mand contributions, introduce the Roman power

'in

'in the place of their Knights, and render them a 'meer ſhadow.'

He often ſeems to be without the leaſt glimmering of Tacitus's meaning, or any meaning, and puts down a parcel of words at random. How clearly does he Engliſh, "proviſis exemplis Caudinæ ac Numantinæ cladis;' 'reſolving to follow the example of Numantian, and the Caudine 'defeat, which practice they thought they might 'juſtify, ſince the Parthians were at this time more 'powerful than the Carthaginians or Samnites:' [were they in truth? what a diſcovery is here?] "neque eandem vim Samnitibus Italico populo, aut "Pœnis Romani imperii æmulis." He goes on: 'They were now beginning to talk that the Antients were always commended for their addreſs 'in ſuiting all things to the times, and ſecuring a 'ſafe retreat when fortune ſhould frown upon 'them.' This is another diſcovery which he has made from theſe words: "validam quoque & laudatam antiquitatem, quotiens fortuna contra daret, ſaluti conſuluiſſe," c. 13; that is, 'theſe 'ſame venerable Antients, ſo very ſtubborn and invincible, and ſo much adored, always conſulted 'ſelf-preſervation, as often as preſſed by the aſſaults 'of a calamitous fortune.'

When Petus had ſubmitted to ſuch ſhameful conditions from the Parthians, he, amongſt the reſt, made a bridge over the river Arſanias, and to hide his diſgrace, pretended it was to ſhorten his own march; when in truth, it was done in obedience to the commands of the Parthians, as a monument of their ſuperiority and conqueſt: "namque iis "uſui fuit; noſtri per diverſum iere," c. 15. 'It 'being commodious to them, (quoth the Tranſlator) and not in any manner to moleſt us.' Were ever two meanings more remote? He often adds words of his own to thoſe of Tacitus, and often drops

drops many more of the original, ſometimes whole ſentences. Tacitus ſays, there prevailed then a peſtilent cuſtom of making fraudulent Adoptions, by ſuch Candidates for Offices as had no children of their own; and as ſoon as the Election was over, they inſtantly diſmiſſed ſuch as they had occaſionally adopted. This abuſe raiſed a ſtorm from ſuch as were real parents; who, having applied to the Senate with warm repreſentations againſt ſuch fallacious dealings in others, and ſuch injury done to themſelves, add, " ſibi promiſſa legum diu expec-" tata, in ludibrium verti, quando quis ſine ſoli-" citudine parens, ſine luctu orbus, longa patrum " vota repente adæquaret," c. 19. All this is dropped by the Tranſlator, and the following jargon of his own inſerted: ' They took children to ' quit them at their fancy in contempt of thoſe ' laws, while they had a great many privileges, for ' care or ſorrow, the other with eaſe enjoyed the ' ſame.'

I am afraid I have tired my reader, as I have done myſelf, with ſuch a dull deduction of ſtupidities. I did not at firſt intend to ſay any thing of the former Tranſlations: I took it for granted that every man who had ſeen them, muſt have condemned them, and found them as pitiful and bad as they really are. But when upon publiſhing my Propoſals, I found that ſome, who by their titles and profeſſion ſhould be learned, others who by their high quality, ought to have taſte and elegance, had commended the former Tranſlation, and uttered their deſpair of ſeeing a better; I found it neceſſary to give ſome account of that performance, which I think to be as low, defective, and wretched as any thing in print; neither language, nor ſenſe, nor decency, and as much unlike Tacitus the Hiſtorian, as the meaneſt ſlave of Tacitus the Conſul, was unlike his maſter. It is much worſe than the

old

old Tranſlation, which is exceeding bad. It is in my own defence, as well as in defence of Tacitus, that I have cenſured it, and againſt my inclination. It looks indeed as if the Tranſlators themſelves had no opinion of it, ſince they have not, as is uſual, ſaid one word about it by way of Preface. This is what Mr. Dryden particularly never uſed to omit doing; why did he omit it now in the Tranſlation of a work of ſuch name and weight? As far as the ſixth Annal there is a Tranſlation too of La Houſſaye's Notes, but done with great ignorance and errors.

DISCOURSE II.

Upon TACITUS and his Writings.

Sect. I. The Character of TACITUS.

AS to the Character of Tacitus and his writings; he was the greateſt Orator, Stateſman, and Hiſtorian of his time; he had long frequented the Bar; he had paſſed through all the high offices of State: He was Edile, Pretor, Conſul; and after long acquaintance with buſineſs and men, he applied himſelf to collect obſervations, and to convey the fruits of his knowledge to poſterity, under the agreeable dreſs of a Hiſtory. For this task he was excellently qualified: No man had ſeen more, ſcarce any man had ever thought ſo much, or conveyed his thoughts with greater force and vivacity; a mighty genius, for which no conception or deſign was too vaſt; a powerful Orator, who

who abounds in great ſentiments and deſcription: Yet a man of conſummate integrity, who, though he frequently agitates the paſſions, never miſleads them: A maſterly Hiſtorian, who draws events from their firſt ſources; and explains them with a redundancy of images, and a frugality of words: A profound Politician who takes off every diſguiſe, and penetrates every artifice: An upright Patriot, zealous for public Liberty and the welfare of his Country, and a declared enemy to Tyrants and to the inſtruments of Tyranny; a lover of humankind; a man of virtue, who adores Liberty and Truth, and every where adorns and recommends them; who abhors falſhood and iniquity, deſpiſes little arts, expoſes bad ones; and ſhews, upon all occaſions, by the fate and fall of great wicked men, by the anxiety of their ſouls, by the precarioufneſs of their power, by the uncertainty or ſuddenneſs of their fate, what a poor price greatneſs obtained is for goodneſs loſt; and how infinitely, perſecuted virtue is preferable to ſmiling and triumphant wickedneſs. Germanicus under all his hardſhips and disfavour, is a happier man than Tiberius with all his power and Empire; happier in peace of mind, happier in his fame and memory. Tigellinus is a great favourite with Nero, but deteſted by all the reſt of the world and fearful of all men. Seneca is diſliked by the Emperor, but univerſally beloved and regretted. Tacitus is a fine Gentleman, who ſuffers nothing pedantic or low, nothing that is trifling or indecent to fall from his pen. He is alſo a man of wit; not ſuch a one as is fond of conceits and the quaintneſs of words, but a wit that is grave, majeſtic, and ſublime; one that blends the ſolemnity of truth with the fire of imagination, and touches the heart rather than the fancy; yet for the better reception of truth, pleaſes and awakens the fancy.

The

The telling of truth is dry and unaffecting; but to enliven it with imagery, is describing it: And every one knows the advantages that Description has over bare Narration. Hence the force of fine painting; though, in my opinion, the Orator has the advantage of the Painter, as words can multiply ideas better than the pencil, throw them thicker together, and inflame them more. What piece of Apelles could have animated the Athenians against Philip of Macedon, like one of Demosthenes's Orations? What picture of Love can equal the description of that passion by Lucretius, the noblest wit of all the Latin Poets? It is hardly, I believe, possible for colours to carry images higher than they are by Michael Angelo carried, in his piece of the Last Day: Yet I believe it not only possible, but easy to make a description of that day more affecting than the sight of that celebrated piece.

Sect. II. How much he excells in Description and Force.

PAINTING in words is the strongest painting; and in that art Tacitus excells to amazement. His images are many, but close and thick; his words are few, but pointed and glowing; and even his silence is instructive and affecting.

How justly does he represent that noble sullenness and disdain of the wife of Arminius, when brought with other captives before Germanicus? "Inerant "& feminæ nobiles, inter quas uxor Armenii, ea-"demque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis "animo, neque victa in lacrymas, neque voce "supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus gravi-"dum uterum intuens," A. 1. c. 57. A circumstance of distress more moving than this last, could not be devised; and what words, or exclamations,

or

or tears could raiſe compaſſion ſo effectually, as the repreſentation of a ſpirit too great to weep or complain ; of a grief too mighty to be uttered ?

The March of Germanicus and his Army to the Foreſt of Teutburg, to bury the bones of Varus and his Legions, there maſſacred by the Germans ; the deſcription of that Camp, with the revival of the circumſtances of that tragical event ; and the ſympathy and reſentments of the ſoldiers, are all beautifully diſplayed with great force and brevity, with equal tenderneſs and horror.

" Permoto ad miſerationem omni qui aderat ex-
" ercitu, ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob caſus
" bellorum, & ſortem hominum. Incedunt mœſ-
" tos locos, viſuque ac memoria deformes. Prima
" Vari caſtra lato ambitu, & dimenſis principiis,
" trium legionum manus oſtentabant : dein ſemi-
" ruto vallo, humili foſſa, acciſæ jam reliquiæ
" conſediſſe intelligebantur : medio campi albentia
" oſſa, ut fugerant, ut reſtiterant, disjecta vel ag-
" gerata : adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorum-
" que artus, ſimul truncis arborum antefixa ora ;
" lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas tribunos
" ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant.
" Cladis ejus ſuperſtites pugnam aut vincula elapſi,
" referebant, hic cecidiſſe legatos, illic raptas aqui-
" las ; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi in-
" felici dextra, & ſuo ictu mortem invenerit ; quo
" tribunali concionatus Arminius ; quot patibula cap-
" tivis, quæ ſcrobes ; utque ſignis & aquilis per
" ſuperbiam inluſerit. Igitur Romanus qui aderat
" exercitus, ſextum poſt cladis annum, trium Le-
" gionum oſſa, nullo noſcente alienas reliquias an
" ſuorum homo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos, ut
" conſanguineos, auctâ in hoſtem irâ, mœſti ſimul
" & infenſi condebant," An. 1. c. 61. 62.

Here is eloquence and deſcription ! What can be added, what can be taken away ? His ſtile is every

where warm and pathetick, and he never informs the underſtanding, or entertains the imagination, but he kindles the affections. You are not only convinced by his ſentiments, but governed by them, charmed with them, and grow zealous for them. This is a trial of the power and skill of a writer; this the drift and glory of perſuaſion and eloquence; and this the talent of Tacitus.

To diſplay Tyrants and Tyranny he chuſes the ſtrongeſt words and figures: "facinora ac flagitia "ſua ipſi quoque in ſupplicium verterant. Si re- "cludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe adſpici la- "niatus & ictus; quando ut corpora verberibus, "ita ſævitia, libidine, malis conſultis, animus di- "laceretur: quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non "ſolitudines, protegebant, quin tormenta pecto- "ris ſuaſque ipſe pœnas fateretur." An. 6. c. 6.

It was his buſineſs and deſign to lay open the iniquity and horrors of their miſ-rule; "ſæva juſſa, "continuas accuſationes, fallaces amicitias, perni- "ciem innocentium." You ſee the bloody hands of the executioners, Rome ſwimming in the blood of her own Citizens, and all the rage of unrelenting Tyranny; "undantem per domos ſanguinem, "aut manus carnificum." You ſee the bands of accuſers let looſe, nay hired to deſtroy, and breathing death and exile; "ſævitiam oratorum accuſa- "tiones minitantium: delatores per præmia elicie- "bantur." You ſee the barbarous outrages of an inſolent and mercileſs ſoldiery; "cuncta ſanguine, "ferro, flammiſque miſcent." You ſee madmen bear rule, theſe mad rulers governed and made worſe by ſlaves, villains and harlots; yet all theſe monſters adored, their perſons, wickedneſs, and even their fury ſanctified; iniquity exalted, virtue trod under foot, laws perverted, righteouſneſs and truth depreſſed and baniſhed; every worthy man doomed to

ſcaffolds,

ſcaffolds, rocks, and dungeons; the baſeſt of all men pronouncing that doom, and making a prey or a ſacrifice of the beſt; fear and diſtruſt and treachery prevailing; the deſtroyers themſelves haunted with the perpetual dread of deſtruction, at laſt overtaken by it, yet ſeldom leaving better in their room.

All theſe melancholy ſcenes you ſee expoſed in colours ſtrong and moving: the thoughts are great, the phraſe elevated, and the words chaſte and few. It is all a picture: whatever he ſays, you ſee, and all that you ſee affects you. It puzzles one to give inſtances, becauſe there are ſo many in every page. How many affecting images are there in theſe few words near the beginning of the firſt Annal; "Quo-"tuſquiſque reliquus qui rempublicam vidiſſet?" How mournful too and expreſſive, yet how plain are theſe which immediately follow! "Igitur verſo "civitatis ſtatu, nihil uſquam priſci & integri mo-"ris;" as well as thoſe a little before; "rebus "novis aucti tuta & præſentia, quam vetera & pe-"riculoſa mallent."

With what thunder and vehemence does Arminius rouſe the Cheruſcans, his country-men, to arms, when his wife became a captive to the Romans, and his child a ſlave though yet unborn? "Egregium patrem! magnanimum imperatorem! "fortem exercitum! quorum tot manus unam mu-"lierculam avexerint: ſibi tres Legiones, totidem "legatos procubuiſſe: non enim ſe proditione, ne-"que adverſus feminas gravidas, ſed palam adverſus "armatos bellum tractare. Cerni adhuc Germa-"norum in lucis ſigna Romana. Coleret Segeſtes "victam ripam, redderet filio ſacerdotium, &c." In how few words does he compriſe a long and perplexed debate in the counſel held by Germanicus, how to proceed with the mutinous Legions! "Au-

"gebat

" gebat metum gnarus (ſuperior exercitus) Romanæ
" ſeditionis, & ſi omitteretur ripa, invaſurus hoſtis ;
" ac ſi auxilia & ſocii adverſum abſcedentes Legi-
" ones armarentur, civile bellum ſuſcipi : pericu-
" loſa ſeveritas, flagitioſa largitio : ſeu nihil militi,
" ſeu omnia concederentur, in ancipiti Reſpublica.
" Igitur, &c." An. 1.

Sect. III. Further inſtances of the juſtneſs of his Genius, and of his great Thoughts.

HIS account of the perſecutions of Germanicus, with his laſt words and amiable Character, makes a fine Tragedy ; ſo does the Death of Seneca ; ſo does that of the Conſpirators againſt Nero. With what magnanimity and calmneſs does Sulpitius Aſper the Centurion anſwer the brutal Tyrant, when asked, why he had conſpired againſt his life ? " non aliter tot flagitiis ejus ſubveniri
" potuiſſe." With what ſilence and firmneſs did the Conſul Veſtinus die ? though he was Nero's old companion and friend, and unconcerned in the conſpiracy, and no crime nor accuſer againſt him :
" vigens adhuc balneo infertur, calida aqua mer-
" ſatur, nulla edita voce qua ſe miſeraretur." How beautiful, how deep, and juſt are his obſervations upon human nature ! " Molles in calamitate hu-
" mani animi : mobiles ad ſuperſtitionem perculſæ
" ſemel mentes : cupidine ingenii humani luben-
" tius obſcura credi : neque morum ſpernendus,
" niſi quod paupertatem præcipuum malorum crede-
" bat. Vivorum ut magna admiratio, ita cenſura
" difficilis : eandem virtutem admirantibus cui
" iraſcebantur : manebat admiratio viri & fama,
" ſed oderant. Beneficia eo uſque læta ſunt dum
" videntur exſolvi poſſe ; ubi multum anteceſſere,
" pro gratia odium redditur. Exacto per ſcelera

" die, noviſſimum malorum fuit lætitia. Rumore
" populi, qui neminem ſine æmulo ſinit: minore
" ſpe veniæ, creſcit vinculum ſceleris: populus
" novarum rerum cupiens paviduſque: vulgus ea-
" dem pravitate interfectum inſectatur, qua viven-
" tem foverat."

How maſterly and profound are thoſe upon Government! " Primas dominandi ſpes in arduo:
" ubi ſis ingreſſus adeſſe ſtudia & miniſtros. Ar-
" duum eodem loci potentiam & concordiam eſſe.
" Potentia cautis conſiliis tutius habetur. Major
" e longinquo reverentia. Principibus præcipua
" rerum ad famam dirigendo. Inſociabile regnum:
" cupido regni fratre & filia potior. Scaurum cui
" implacabilius iraſcebatur (Tiberius) ſilentio tra-
" miſit. Intelligebantur artes, ſed pars obſequii in
" eo, ne deprehenderentur. In ſumma fortuna æquius
" quod validius." Theſe I do not quote as the fineſt Thoughts in Tacitus, but only ſuch as occur to me.

He paints Thoughts and Faculties, Men and Paſſions, Tyranny and Slaves. His imagination is boundleſs, yet never out-runs his judgment; his wiſdom is ſolid and vaſt, yet always enlivened by his imagination. His deſigning is great, his drawing juſt, his colouring beautiful. See the deſcription of a Peſtilence at Rome, An. 16. c. 13. " Do-
" mus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus com-
" plebantur. Non ſexus, non ætas periculo vacua.
" Servitia perinde ac ingenua plebes raptim extin-
" gui, inter conjugum & liberorum lamenta, qui
" dum aſſident, dum deflent, ſæpe eodem rogo
" cremabantur. Equitum Senatorumque interitus
" quamvis promiſcui, minus flebiles erant, tanquam
" communi mortalitate ſævitiam Principis præve-
" nirent." Under a Tyrant, a Plague was a bleſſing.

Who

Who but Tacitus could have ſaid as he does of the ancient Germans: "Argentum & aurum pro-"pitii an irati Dii negaverint, dubito?" or that afterwards of the ſame people: "mira diverſitate "naturæ, cum iidem homines ſic ament inertiam, "quietem oderint?" or that of the Sitones, a particular Clan of Germans, who were under the Government of a Woman: "in tantum non modo "a libertate, ſed etiam a ſervitute degenerant?" Theſe are ſuch inſtances of diſcernment, ſagacity and happy expreſſion, as few Writings can ſhew. By them and a thouſand more, it is manifeſt that Tacitus ſaw every thing in a true and uncommon light: and his reflections are like mirrours where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper ſize and colours.

I cannot help thinking That to be a bold and gallant Saying of Boiocalus to the Roman General, who refuſed him a manſion for himſelf and his people in the vacant lands of Frizia; and thence provoked him to implore the Sun and Stars: "quaſi "coram interrogabat, vellentne contueri inane ſo-"lum? potius mare ſuperfunderent adverſus ter-"rarum ereptores. Deeſſe nobis terram in qua vi-"vamus; in qua moriamur non poteſt." What a ſublime thought is that of his concerning the Fennians? The moſt ſavage and wretched race this of all the wild Germans; their cloathing, ſkins; their bed, the earth; their food, the graſs; deſtitute of horſes, houſes, and arms; the thick branches of trees their only ſhelter againſt tempeſts and the ravening beaſts: Here they find cradles and protection for their babes; here live the old men, and hither reſort the young. Yet this miſerable life they prefer to that of ſweating at the plough, and to the pains of rearing houſes: they thirſt not after the fortunes of others; they have no anxiety about preſerving their own; ſo that they hoped for no-

thing that was not theirs, and having nothing of their own, could fear to loſe nothing; " ſecuri (ſays Tacitus) " adverſus homines, ſecuri adverſus " deos, rem difficillimam adſecuti ſunt, ut illis ne " voto quidem opus ſit."

Sect. IV. The Morality of Tacitus, and his ſpirit virtuous and humane.

AS obvious too as his other great qualities, is his love of Mankind, of Civil Liberty, and of private and public Virtue. His Book is a great tablature of the uglineſs and horrors of Tyranny; of the ſcandal and infamy of ſervitude and debaſement; of the lovelineſs of virtue and a free ſpirit; of the odiouſneſs of vice and ſycophancy. Such was his ſympathy for the ſufferings and ſevere lot of the Romans under Tiberius, that he is glad of a digreſſion from home, and keeps thence as long as he can, to relieve his ſoul from attending to domeſtic evils; " duabus æſtatibus geſta conjunxi, quo " requieſceret animus a domeſticis malis." He grieves for the ſlaviſh ſpirit, for the ſtupid tameneſs of the Romans under the Tyranny of the deteſtable Nero. So much Roman blood wantonly ſhed by that monſter, is a load upon his ſoul, and oppreſſes it with ſorrow. " Patientia ſervilis, tantumque ſan- " guinis domi perditum, fatigant animum, & mœ- " ſtitia reſtringunt."

He delights in good times, in public Liberty and virtuous Reigns, and delights to praiſe them; ſuch as thoſe of Nerva and Trajan; " rara temporum " felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias " dicere licet." In what a different ſtrain does he ſpeak of the foregoing Emperors? " Nobilitas, opes, " omiſſi geſtique honores pro crimine, & ob vir- " tutes certiſſimum exitium." He glories however

that the worſt and moſt faithleſs times produced many inſtances of friendſhip and generous fidelity; " non tamen adeo virtutum ſterile ſeculum, ut non " & bona exempla prodiderit."

He is fond of a virtuous Character; as that of Labeo: " Labeo incorrupta libertate & ob id fama " celebratior:" Such as that of Lepidus; " hunc " ego Lepidum temporibus illis, gravem & ſapien- " tem virum fuiſſe comperio: nam plæraque ab " fævis adulationibus aliorum, in melius flexit:" And that of L. Piſo chief Pontiff; " nullius ſer- " vilis ſententiæ ſponte auctor." How amiable are the Death and laſt words of L. Arruntius, like thoſe of a Patriot, and a Prophet! But how vile every where, and even miſerable and inſecure, are Tyrants, Flatterers and the Miniſters of Iniquity! What he ſays of the firſt I have quoted above: And againſt the other hear his honeſt indignation: " tem- " pora infecta, & adulatione ſordida fuere. Fæ- " daque & nimia cenſerent. Adulatio perinde an- " ceps ſi nulla, & ubi nimia eſt. Delatores genus " hominum in exitium publicum repertum, perni- " ciem aliis, ac poſtremo ſibi invenere." What an odious inſect is Vatinius; what a horrible villain Tigellinus; what infamous ſycophants are Capito and Vitellius; and what a ſhocking paricide is Serenus, the accuſer of his father and a general accuſer?

Sect. V. The Stile of TACITUS, how pertinent and happy: His Obſcurity, a charge of the moderns only.

BESIDES the grandeur and dignity of his phraſe, he is remarkable for a ſurpriſing brevity: But let his words be ever ſo few, his thought and matter are always abundant. His expreſſion is like the

dreſs of Poppæa Sabina, deſcribed by himſelf; "ve-"lata parte oris ne ſatiaret aſpectum, vel quia ſic "decebat." He ſtarts the Idea, and leaves the Imagination to purſue it. The ſample he gives you is ſo fine, that you are preſently curious to ſee the whole piece, and then you have your ſhare in the merit of the diſcovery; a compliment which ſome able Writers have forgot to pay to their Readers. I cannot help thinking Mr. Locke a great deal too wordy, and that the plainneſs of his propoſitions, as well as their ſtrength, ſuffers often by an explanation over-diffuſe. Dr. Tillotſon's ſtile is much better, indeed very fine, but takes up too much room; it is likely he choſe it as fit for popular diſcourſes; ſince it is plain from the vivacity of his Parts, and the many fine turns found in his Writings, that he could have been very ſententious. Theſe two great names are by no man reverenced more than I reverence them, and without malignity I mention them, as I do that of the worthy Lord Clarendon, whoſe language is weighty, and grave, but encumbered and even darkened, I might ſay flattened, with a multiplication of words.

Stile is a part of Genius, and Tacitus had one peculiar to himſelf, a ſort of a language of his own, one fit to expreſs the amazing vigor of his ſpirit, and that redundancy of reflections which for force and frequency are to be equalled by no Writer before or ſince. Beſides, the courſe and fluency of his Narration, is almoſt every where broken by perſons whom he introduces ſpeaking and debating; inſomuch that a great part of his Hiſtory comes out of the mouths of other people, and in expreſſions ſuitable to their ſeveral Characters. It is plain too that the older he grew, the more he pruned and curtailed his Stile; for his Hiſtories are much more copious and flowing than his Annals: And thus what has been by others reckoned a fault, was in him

him the effect of his judgment. Neither were his Works intended for the populace; but for such as governed States, or such as attended to the conduct of Governors; nor, were the Stile and Latin ever so plain, would they ever be understood by such as do not. As Plutarch came to understand the Roman Tongue by understanding their Affairs; Tacitus is to be known by knowing human nature, and the elements and mechanism of Government.

It is madness to wish for the manner and redundancy of Livy in the Writings of Tacitus. They wrote at different times, and of Governments differently formed. Tacitus had transactions of another sort to describe, and other sorts of men; (for by Government men are changed) the crooked arts of policy, the false smiles of power, the jealousy, fury and wantonness of Princes uncontrolled; the flattery of the grandees; the havock made by the accusers, and universal debasement of all men: Matter chiefly for reflection, complaints and rebuke! "Nobis in arto, & inglorius labor: mœstæ "urbis res," &c. Livy had another field and more scope; the History of a Commonwealth rising, forming and conquering; perpetual victories and matter of panegyric; and his pen flowed like the prosperity of the State. "Ingentia bello, expug- "nationes urbium, fusos captosque reges, discor- "dias Consulum adversus Tribunos, agrarias fru- "mentariasque leges, plebis & optimatium certa- "mina, libero egressu memorabat," An. 4. 32. Doubtless he could have adopted another Stile if he would, perhaps the Stile of Livy, as I think this very quotation shews; but Tacitus had another view and different topics; nor would another stile, the easy and numerous stile of Livy, have answered his purpose. I fancy too that no body who knows Tacitus, would wish him to have written in a strain different from what he has done. There are charms

in his manner and words, as well as in his thoughts, and he wears the only dreſs that would become him.

It is amazing that this obſcurity of his ſhould never be mentioned by any of the Antients who mention him. It is a fault diſcovered by the Moderns, though, in my opinion, common to him with other Claſſical Writers; nor has he puzzled the Commentators more than Horace, Cicero, Pliny, Salluſt, &c. His Latin is truly pure and claſſical; he has few or no words which had not been uſed by approved writers, nor does he often give new ideas to old words. If his Works were no wiſe obſcure to men of ſenſe when he compoſed them, as we have no reaſon to think; it is inſolence and folly in us to reckon his obſcurity a fault. It is a dead language which he writes in, and he wrote ſeventeen hundred years ago. When Tacitus the Emperor directed copies of his Books to be placed in all the Libraries, and for their better preſervation, to be tranſcribed ten times every year, he ordered no Grammarian to explain his abſtruſe places; though the Hiſtorian had been then dead near two hundred years. Great Writers are in their manner and phraſe a Law and Authority to themſelves; and not confined to the Rules that fill the heads or grammars of ſmall wits and pedants. Milton has a Stile of his own, and rules for writing of his own; and who that taſtes his genius would wiſh him more faſhionable and exact, or to have written otherwiſe. I am even pleaſed with the jarrings of Milton's phraſes. But here I chiefly mean his poetical Stile. Of his proſe I ſhall make mention hereafter.

When the ſubject varies, ſo ſhould the Stile: That of Tacitus is marvellouſly ſuited to his ſubject and deſign; had it been more familiar, it had neither been ſo juſt nor ſo beautiful. To me nothing is more ſo than the manner of Tacitus; his

words

words and phraſes are admirably adapted to his matter and conceptions, and make impreſſions ſudden and wonderful upon the mind of man. The doleful condition of the Emperor Vitellius, when deſerted by his fortune and all men, is ſtrong and tragical as imagination and words can make it. "Terret ſolitudo & tacentes loci; tentat clauſa; inhorreſcit vacuis; feſſuſque miſero errore, & pudenda latebra ſemet occultans, à Tribuno protrahitur. Vinctæ pone tergum manus; laniata veſte, fædum ſpectaculum ducebatur, multis increpantibus," he adds, "nullo inlachrymante;" and the reaſon he gives for this, is judicious and fine; "deformitas exitus miſericordiam abſtulerat." What follows is in the ſame affecting ſtrain; as are the firſt ſenſible approaches of his calamity. "Vitellius, capta urbe, Aventinum in domum uxoris "cellula defertur, ut ſi diem latebra vitaviſſet Ter"racinam —perfugeret: dein mobilitate ingenii, & "quæ natura pavoris eſt, cum omnia metuenti, "præſentia maxime diſplicerent, in palatium re"greditur, vaſtum deſertumque; dilapſis etiam in"fimis ſervorum, aut occurſum ejus declinanti"bus."

Who would blame Tacitus for a paucity of words, when he conveys ſo many images in ſo few? "Is "habitus animorum fuit, ut peſſimum facinus au"derent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur?" Where can there be a happier expreſſion than that concerning Galba, when the Empire was already rent from him, and he knew it not? "Ignarus "interim Galba & ſacris intentus, fatigabat alieni "jam imperii deos." When Otho, proclaimed Emperor by no more than three and twenty Soldiers, was advancing to the Camp, "& paucitate ſalu"tantium trepidus;" the behaviour and acquieſcence of thoſe he met in his way are accounted for with ſurpriſing brevity and juſtneſs; "alii con-

" ſcientia, plerique miraculo; pars clamore & gla-
" diis, pars ſilentio, animum ex eventu ſumpturi."
There is infinite pathos in what he ſays of the Omens and Phænomena, which were obſerved during the Civil Wars, and the ſtrife of Princes;
" cœlo terraque prodigia, & fulminum monitus,
" & futurorum præſagia læta, triſtia, ambigua, ma-
" nifeſta." What can be more ſolemn, ſounding and ſublime, even in Lucretius? When Nero was diſgracing himſelf and the Roman State, by debaſing his perſon to that of a player upon the public Stage; how pathetically is the behaviour and ſpirit of Burrus deſcribed in a few words; " adſtabat
" Burrus mærens & laudans!"

Sect. VI. A general Character of his Works.

THERE is no end of ſpecimens and examples; it is all over a wonderful Book, full of wiſdom, full of virtue; of aſtoniſhing ſtrokes of genius and ſuperior ſenſe. Yet he ſeems not to value himſelf upon his great thoughts; the fineſt things fall from him like common things; he ſays them naturally, and never dwells upon one, becauſe he has always more to utter. When he has ſtruck your imagination, and you want to ſtand ſtill and ruminate, you have no time; he draws, or rather forces you forward, and the next thought ſtrikes you as much; ſo does the third, and all of them; and you go on reading and wondering, yet wiſhing for leiſure to ponder and recollect. But he gives you none; for from firſt to laſt the preſent reflection is always the beſt.

'Tis all of it eternal good ſenſe, and will bear an eternity of time and cenſure. It is no wiſe akin to your pretty trifles of humour and fancy, that juſt tickle the imagination, but go no deeper, and pleaſe

for

for a day. His beauties are ſolid, and upon the ſtricteſt examination diſcover no paint or tinſel; his wiſdom and inſtruction are inexhauſtible, and his works conſequently an everlaſting feaſt. I have ſeen ſeveral performances of tolerable length and notable reputation, all derived from ſo many ſhort ſentences of Tacitus, well wiredrawn and paraphraſed. He is indeed a fund for Writers who have diſcretion and ſtile, but want depth.

There is a fine ſhort Character of Tacitus in Owen's Epigrams;

Veracem fecit probitas, natura ſagacem,
Obſcurum brevitas te, gravitaſque brevem. Ep. 157.

Sect. VII. Tacitus vindicated from the imputation of deriving events from counſels too ſubtle and malevolent.

HE is accuſed too of over-much ſubtilty and refining, and of deriving the actions of his Princes, even the moſt innocent and plauſible, from crooked deſigns, and a baſe heart; and of imputing to craft and politics what was often no more than the effect of inclination and paſſion: A charge in my opinion intirely groundleſs. Tacitus deſcribes things and men as they are, ſhews particulars acting agreeably to their characters, their ſituation and views; and repreſents counſels flowing from ſuch ſources only as were likely to produce them. Let us examine his reign of Tiberius for which he is chiefly cenſured.

The firſt feat of this reign, was the murder of Agrippa, the grandſon of Auguſtus. Tiberius ordered it, and denied it, and threatened the Centurion who was the executioner, that he ſhould anſwer for it to the Senate. This is the account given

by Tacitus, and the ſame is given by Suetonius; the former adds, that it was done from jealouſy of State, and for the removal of a Rival; and what other reaſon is to be given? for he had ſhewn how improbable it was that the ſame had been ordained by Auguſtus, though this was pretended, as Suetonius too teſtifies. Nor was any thing more natural than his apprehenſions of Germanicus, a young Prince popular above all men, and at the head of a great army, who wanted him for their Emperor in the room of Tiberius. This is matter of fact, and well atteſted. Now where is the extreme refining, to repreſent Tiberius as contriving to remove ſuch a dangerous man, one of ſuch good pretences and powerful intereſt, firſt from his faithful Legions, and then from home, for ever; though at the ſame time he flattered him, extolled him, and heaped honours upon him? All this is but the common road of ſuch Courts, when they have the ſame deſigns and fears. Is it not uſual in Turkey to load a Baſhaw with Imperial Preſents, to beſtow upon him ſome great Government, and to murder him before he arrive at it?

Is not power a jealous and artificial thing, full of fears and wiles; and is not Tiberius allowed by all men to have been a Prince of infinite diſtruſt, craft, and cruelty? What meant he by making great men Governors of Provinces, and yet never ſuffering them to go thither for a courſe of years, nor even out of Rome, though they ſtill held the name? What meant he by continuing others in the actual poſſeſſion of Provinces for a long tract of years; nay, frequently to the end of their life? Was it not his diſtruſt of the former; and that as to the latter, he could not make a ſafer choice, and therefore was afraid to chooſe any? Yet Tacitus, far from diving into his Politics in this matter, or being ſubtle and dogmatical about it, gives you the

ſenti-

ſentiments of others; " alii tædio novæ curæ, ſe-
" mel placita pro æternis ſervaviſſe. Quidam, in-
" vidia, ne plures fruerentur. Sunt qui exiſtimant,
" ut callidum ejus ingenium, ita anxium judicium;
" neque enim eminentis virtutes ſectabatur, & rur-
" ſum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum ſibi; a
" peſſimis dedecus publicum metuebat." Never was any thing ſaid more impartial, never any thing more juſt and ſolid. From the doubles and even contradictions that poſſeſs the heart of man, the conduct of men will be perplexed and contradictory. It is allowed that " alieni appetens, ſui profuſus," was a juſt branch in the Character of Catiline, and is reckoned one of the beauties and ſtrong places in Salluſt. Without peradventure, as beautiful, and ſtrong, and juſt, is this of Tacitus; " neque emi-
" nentis virtutis ſectabatur, & rurſum vitia oderat;" the reaſon too aſſigned for it, is equally juſt and fine; " ex optimis periculum ſibi; a peſſimis dedecus pub-
" licum metuebat." Is not this accounting, from the principles of nature and ſelf-preſervation, for the conduct and politics of Tiberius? Many of his actions and meaſures, recounted by Tacitus, are ſupported by collateral evidence, by Suetonius, Pliny, Dion Caſſius, and others; many by them omitted are by him related, with ſuch probability, and ſo perfectly reſemble the reſt of his conduct, that we muſt deny Tiberius to have been ſuch a Prince as all men agree he was, or believe the account of him given by Tacitus.

His diſſimulation was conſtant and notorious. In the very beginning, while he confidently acted as Emperor, with all the pomp and might of Majeſty, he openly refuſed the Empire; " Principa-
" tum (ſays Suetonius) quamvis neque occupare con-
" feſtim, neque agere dubitaſſet, vi & ſpecie do-
" minationis aſſumpta, diu tamen recuſavit impu-
" den-

" dentiſſimo animo;" Such ſevere language as this is not given him by Tacitus.

Does Tacitus repreſent him as hating and fearing the great Romans, and illuſtrious Senators? And do not other Hiſtorians; do not the facts themſelves prove it? Was he not continually deſtroying them, till they were almoſt all deſtroyed? Of the twenty Grandees particularly (principum Civitatis) whom he deſired of the Senate, for his Confidents and Counſellors, he left not above two or three alive; all the reſt were by treachery and feigned crimes cut off by him: " Horum omnium vix duos " aut tres incolumes præſtitit; cæteros, alium alia " de cauſa perculit," ſays Suetonius. Is Tacitus therefore too refined, in diſcovering what facts demonſtrate? Is it not Suetonius too who ſays, " Mul- " ta ſpecie gravitatis, ac morum corrigendorum, " ſed magis naturæ obtemperans, ſæve & atrociter " factitavit?" 'It was uſual with him, to do ac- 'tions exceeding barbarous and mercileſs, yet all 'under ſhew of Juſtice, and the reforming of Man- 'ners; but in reality from the inſtigation of his 'own cruel ſpirit.' Is Suetonius alſo over ſubtle, the Hiſtorian in the world the moſt plain, and ſeldom aiming at a reflection? For what reaſon did he ſuffer the boundaries of the Empire to be invaded, and Provinces to be ſeized by the Barbarians, but from fear of truſting any great Officer with the conduct of the War?

That he affected to derive all power from the Senate, yet left them but the ſhadow of authority, and was even jealous of that ſhadow, is ſacredly true. It was even natural; and wanted no refining, to diſcover it. Did not Cromwel do the ſame? And are not all men willing to have their power, however lawleſs, legitimated, and the odium of their acts of violence transferred upon others? Will any one ſay, that the Senate liked his acts of Sovereignty,

vereignty, his frequent impeachments of their Members, often the beſt and moſt innocent, and his obliging them to condemn, (for he that dares not refuſe is forced to conſent) and his leaving every particular in continual dread of being the next; which was a farther motive in each to hatred and complaiſance? He knew he had earned their hate, "reputante ſibi publicum odium." Is it likely now that he loved them, or that there was or could be ſincerity or confidence on either ſide? What did his retirement in the Iſle of Capreæ, with his perpetual abſence from Rome, infer, but continual diſtruſt of the Senate and People? Juſt before he expired, he was haſtening from a ramble upon the Continent, back to his Den, "non temere quid-"quam niſi ex tuto auſurus;" to take meaſures of vengeance againſt the Senate, for that he had read in their acts, that they had diſcharged certain perſons accuſed, though he had writ to the Senate, that they were only named by the informer; "pro "contempto ſe habitum fremens, repetere Capreas "quoque modo deſtinavit, non temere," &c. This too is related by Suetonius. It is certain the Senate were to all theſe Tyrants a conſtant mark of jealouſy and hate; and ſome of them, particularly Caligula and Nero, had propoſed to extirpate that venerable Aſſembly, by murdering the whole Body.

Sect. VIII. More Proofs of the Candour and Veracity of TACITUS.

TACITUS makes Tiberius no worſe than he was, hardly ſo bad. That he doomed almoſt his whole family to exile, famine, or the executioner; that this cruel ſuſpicion and diſtruſt extended even to women, even to his mother, nay to children, relations and ſtrangers, to names, nobility,

bility, and all men, is undeniable. Nor does Tacitus relate any part of the conduct or politicks of Tiberius, but what evidently reſults either from the nature of the man, or the nature of his power. He frequently ſpeaks well of that Prince; and ill he could not avoid ſpeaking, if he ſpoke of him at all. Nay the whole ſixth chapter of the fourth Annal, is a fine panegyric upon the moderation and wiſdom of his Government for eight years before, "pub-
"lica negotia, & privatorum maxima, apud patres
"tractabantur; dabaturque primoribus diſſerere, &
"in adulationem lapſos cohibebat ipſe; mandabat-
"que honores, nobilitatem majorum, claritudinem
"militiæ, inluſtres domi artes ſpectando: ut ſatis
"conſtaret non alios potiores fuiſſe. Sua conſu-
"libus, ſua prætoribus ſpecies; minorum quoque
"magiſtratuum exercita poteſtas; legeſque, ſi ma-
"jeſtatis quæſtio eximeretur, bono in uſu," &c.

What can be fairer than this? and do not other Hiſtorians agree that he grew worſe and worſe: that he had long ſmothered his vices, and was, firſt and laſt, a compleat diſſembler? And is it juſt upon Tacitus, to accuſe him of diſplaying the ſubtleties and craft of a Prince, who was all craft and ſubtlety? Does he not give us the good and bad of his character, and frequently defend it? Does he not ſay of him, in oppoſition to popular opinion and report "non crediderim ad oſtentandam ſævitiam,
"movendaſque populi offenſiones conceſſam filio
"materiam; quanquam id quoque dictum eſt?"
An. 1. c. 76.

Does he not repreſent Tiberius elſewhere as mollifying a rigorous ſentence of the Senate, for baniſhing a criminal to a barren and deſolate Iſland, and arguing that to whomſoever they granted life, they ought to grant the conveniences of life; "dandos
vitæ uſus, cui vita concederetur?" Does he not repreſent him in another place abſolutely refuſing a

new

new acceſſion of power, and arguing againſt it, like a Republican; yet charges him there with no diſſimulation.

In Tacitus you have no falſe colouring, no true worth blemiſhed, no bad qualities diſguiſed; but fair repreſentations and equal juſtice. Tiberius is a dangerous Prince, extremely falſe, extremely cruel; but he has many abilities, and ſome good qualities. He is prudent in moderating the exceſſes of others, where he was not inſtigated by his own perſonal anger; "prudens moderandi, ubi propriâ irâ non "impelleretur." He loved power without bounds; yet was conſtant and reſolute in rejecting pompous honours; "ſpernendis honoribus validus:" A great Tyrant, but a prince obſerving the rules of primitive parcimony; "antiquæ parcimoniæ princeps:" Furiouſly jealous of prerogative; yet the laws, where proceſſes of treaſon interfered not, were in proper force; "leges, ſi majeſtatis quæſtio exime-"retur, bono in uſu." He is inflexible in his vengeance, and where-ever his jealouſy or anger centers, there terrible tragedies are ſure to follow; yet the popular imputation of his poiſoning his ſon, is by Tacitus expoſed as incredible and fabulous; with many the like inſtances of eminent impartiality. He gives fair quarter to the Man, but none to the Tyrant.

To Claudius, a ſtupid Prince, and almoſt a changeling, who had no judgment, no averſion of his own, but only ſuch as were infuſed and managed by others, he allows a ſhare of ſenſe at intervals; allows that he did ſome reaſonable things, gave good advice to the Prince of Parthia; and wanted not elegance in his ſpeeches, when his ſpeeches were premeditated. He owns the ſpirit of Sovereignty to be jealous and unſociable; but as an exception from this rule, mentions the amiable friendſhip and union between Germanicus and Druſus, in the Court of Tiberius, though

though their different intereſts had rent the whole Court into factions. He owns the friendſhip of Druſus, for the children of Germanicus; though the participation of power, and the union of hearts, are ſeldom compatible.

The ſame fair temper and truth he obſerves in the Conduct and Character of Galba, Otho, and even of Nero and Vitellius; and it was his buſineſs and deſign to lay open the iniquity and horrors of their miſrule.

Theſe are ſome of the objections made to the Writings of Tacitus, and I think with extreme injuſtice. His Critics are more ſubtle than he; they are falſe refiners, who for the reputation of ſagacity, make ſingular remarks, and ſerve him as they ſay he did Tiberius; they pervert and blacken his deſigns, and are too curious to be equitable. Tacitus, with a maſterly diſcernment, unravels the myſterious conduct of Tiberius; it is from awe of his mother, it is from fear of Germanicus, it is from jealouſy of the Grandees, and with deſign to amuſe and humour, or to deceive them all, that he rules and acts with ſuch temper and moderation, againſt the bent and pride of his nature always imperious and tyrannical. But when he had well eſtabliſhed himſelf; when Germanicus was dead; when his Mother too was gone; when he had cruſhed ſome of the Grandees, and terrified all; and eſpecially when he was far from the eyes of Rome, is it not moſt true, that he then gave a looſe to all the exceſſes of vileneſs and cruelty? "cuncta ſimul vitia, male "diu diſſimulata, tandem profudit." It is not Tacitus who ſays this.

Was he not continually mocking and deluding the Senate? Firſt he would by no means accept the Empire, at a time when he was actually in poſſeſſion; ſometimes he was weary of it, and would needs reſign at every turn. Before he quitted the City,

City, he was for viſiting the Provinces, and for this purpoſe many preparations were made, and high expectation raiſed; then, when he had retired to Capreæ, he was continually amuſing them with his immediate return to Rome, nay begged one of the Conſuls to guard him. He carried the deceit ſo far, that he often viſited the Continent, and the very Walls and Gardens about Rome; but never once returned to Rome, nor viſited the Provinces, nor had a thought of reſigning. The Commonwealth was always in his mouth, even when he was acting the Tyrant moſt; he profeſſed eminent moderation while he was meditating acts of cruelty; and in inſtances of injuſtice and rigour, pleaded law and mercy.

His malice in leaving ſo wicked a Succeſſor appears more from Suetonius than from Tacitus, who allows him to have had ſome thoughts of appointing another; but the former teſtifies expreſly, that Tiberius was wont to foretel what a devouring Dragon he reared for the Roman people, and what a Phaeton or incendiary to the whole earth. Tacitus is vouched by Suetonius in what he ſays was reported for the motive which determined Auguſtus to adopt Tiberius; "ambitione tractum, ut tali ſuc-"ceſſore conſiderabilior ipſe quandoque fieret." Suet. in Tiber. c. 21. The ſame too is teſtified by Dion Caſſius.

Sect. IX. Mr. Bayle's unjuſt cenſure of Tacitus; and how well the latter knew and obſerved the Laws of Hiſtory.

MR. Bayle in his Dictionary in the Article of Tacitus, quotes ſome paſſages out of a Book entitled Anonymiana, (a very fooliſh book) where Tacitus is criticized as above, and approves thoſe paſſages. This is the leſs matter of wonder to me, for that Mr. Bayle, with all his immenſe learning, acute-

acuteneſs, and candour, had a ſtrange and unnatural biaſs to abſolute Monarchy, though he had fled from the fury of it, and taken refuge in a free State. A proof this that great weakneſs cleaves to the greateſt minds; and who can boaſt an exemption from prejudices, when a ſpirit ſo ſignally diſintereſted and philoſophical as that of Bayle was not exempted? He himſelf ſays of Tacitus, "qu'il y "a bien à reprendre dans l'affectation de ſon lan-"gage, & dans celle de rechercher les motifs ſecrets "des actions, & de le tourner vers les criminel." That this charge is groundleſs I have already proved. Much leſs to be regarded is the authority of Mr. St. Evremond in his cenſure upon Tacitus: His obſervations are without depth, to ſay no worſe; nor have I found in his Works any political obſervations remarkable for ſolidity and force. What he has ſaid of the Romans, is ſuperficial, and often wrong.

Tacitus knew perfectly the Laws of Hiſtory, and blames the paſſionate and partial accounts given by thoſe who deſcribed the ſame reigns; ſince thoſe of them which were written during the lives of the Princes, were falſified through dread of their Tyranny, and when dead, through deteſtation of their late cruelties. He had no motive to be partial; free as he was from affection, free from reſentment. He knew that truth uncorrupted was the Buſineſs of an Hiſtorian, and that perſonal affection and hate ſhould have no ſhare in the work; "nec amore "quiſquam, & ſine odio dicendus eſt." Of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, he ſays, that to him they were known by no mark either of favour or diſkindneſs. The ſame is true of Auguſtus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. He ſhews how the truth was corrupted, firſt by flattery, then by reſentment; and profeſſes to be far from either. I think he is as good as his word.

Sect.

Sect. X. An Apology for the wrong account by TACITUS given of the Jews and Chriſtians, and for his diſregard of the Religion then received.

THERE are other accuſations againſt Tacitus: He has miſrepreſented the Jews and Chriſtians, and wanted Religion.

Concerning the Jews, he followed the tradition and accounts current amongſt the Romans. He tells you what different relations there were, and neither adds any thing, nor miſrepreſents things maliciouſly. It was an obſcure State, generally enſlaved to ſome greater power; to the Aſſyrians, Ægyptians, Grecians, and then to the Romans; and contemned by all, as much as they themſelves hated all. They had not common mercy or charity toward the Gentiles and uncircumciſed; and being perſuaded that the Almighty loved only themſelves, they fancied that he abhorred, and therefore they abhorred, the whole human race beſides: So that it was ſaid by Tacitus too truly, "adverſus omnes alios hoſtile "odium." They were likewiſe ever ſolicitous to hide their myſteries from the eyes of the Heathens, and could not blame them for not knowing what was not to be known. Yet he was not ill informed in ſome inſtances, eſpecially in their ſpiritual notions of the Deity, with their averſion to Images, and to the adoration of the Emperors: "nulla "ſimulacra urbibus ſuis; non regibus hæc adulatio, "non Cæſaribus honor."

Of the Goſpel it is manifeſt he knew nothing; he could not elſe have made ſo ugly a picture of thoſe who profeſſed it; for it is not likely that the Chriſtians were yet ſo degenerated as to diſgrace the Chriſtian Religion. Tacitus wanted an opportunity to be

be better informed. That Religion, as it began among the lower ſort of people, had not probably hitherto gained many proſelytes of name and quality, to countenance and recommend it to men of figure. Tacitus conſidered it like a Stateſman, as a new Sect inconſiſtent with the Laws of Rome, and threatening civil tumults and innovations. It is probable too he had heard and credited the calumnies then uſually thrown upon the manners and meetings of that people. Nor after the beſt inſtruction could he have become a Believer without the illumination of the Spirit; which, it is plain, was withheld from him: And, without a change of heart, it was impoſſible for him to conceive the Reſurrection of the dead, and the Crucifixion of the Son of God. Yet he does them the juſtice to vindicate them from the obloquy of Nero, and expoſes the barbarity of their treatment by that Tyrant.

For his diſregarding the Religion then received, when I conſider what ſorts of abſurdities the Pagans held for Religion, I cannot ſo much blame him. It was a worſhip paid to Deities altogether frantic and impure, by ſacrifices and follies ridiculous and vain; and both their Worſhip and their Gods were invented by the cunning or deluſion of men. It conſiſted in no purification of heart, nor amendment of morals; the things which men and ſocieties require; but in ſounds, geſticulation, and the blood of beaſts; not in truth and ſenſe, in benevolence and rectitude of mind; but in lying oracles, unaccountable myſteries, and a raving imagination; ſometimes in profeſſed acts of lewdneſs; often in thoſe of fury and madneſs; always in ſuch as were foreign from real virtue, and the reſtraining of the paſſions. Public calamities were never thought to be brought down by public depravity and vice, nor to be averted or removed by public reformation. The Gods were not offended but by the omiſſion,

or wrong performance of ſome ceremony or grimace; and by grimace and ceremony they were to be appeaſed. And when the Deities were deemed to be endowed with the peeviſhneſs and caprices of children and apes, or the phrenzy of lunatics, what man of ſenſe could reverence them, or believe in them? It would not have redounded to the reputation of his ſenſe, if he had. Where Religion is pure Superſtition, and the belief of it abſolutely groundleſs and blind; where its Rites are fanciful, fooliſh, and unmanly, as the Religion, and Gods, and Worſhip of the Pagans were; it would have been a revolt from common Reaſon to have had any ſuch Religion. We know how freely Cicero deals with their Gods.

It is true that theſe great men of Rome, who either had no notion of Religion, or one quite oppoſite to that publicly received and practiſed, regarded it as far as it was interwoven with the conſtitution of the ſtate, and ſubſervient to the ends of Government: Yet they ſuffered their Poets, eſpecially the dramatic Poets, to treat their Gods with ſevere jeſts and ſatire. They ſeemed to be of Tiberius's mind, "Deorum injurias diis curæ;" that is, to leave to the Gods the avenging of indignities done to the Gods. Men were puniſhed for their libelling particulars, people of condition, and eſpecially Magiſtrates; but to ridicule and lampoon the Deities, Jupiter himſelf, even upon the Stage, was a matter of impunity and diverſion.

Their Religion therefore conſiſting in Rituals, a man might be very religious with a very debauched and libertine ſpirit. "Cultor deorum parcus & in-"frequens," is a complaint made by Horace of himſelf, but does not ſeem to infer much heavenly-mindedneſs, nor a departure from his impure pleaſures. One might, on the contrary, be exactly good and juſt, nay the pattern of Virtue, and a public patriot,

patriot, without any tincture of their Religion. Such was Cato the Cenſor, ſuch Epicurus, and ſuch was Tacitus. He thought that either there was no Providence (for his mind wavered between the doctrine of neceſſity and that of chance) or ſuch a Providence as he could have well ſpared; "non eſſe curæ Deis "ſecuritatem noſtram, eſſe ultionem." But this bold reproach upon the Deities, he uttered after his heart, zealous for the good of his Country, had been heated by a terrible detail of her Calamities.

Nor indeed, according to the ideas conceived of theſe odd Beings, ſo eaſily humoured and provoked, could one ſay much good of them, or expect it from them. In the reign of Nero he enumerates many preſages, from which, as from ſignals divinely ſent, great changes for the better were inferred; but all vaniſhed into air and diſappointment; "prodigia crebra & inrita interceſſere," &c. Hence he argues, that all theſe omens happened ſo apparently without any direction or interpoſition of the Gods, that, for many years after, Nero rioted in power and wickedneſs.

Whatever were the ſpeculations of our Author about Religion, his Morality is ſtrong and pure, full of benevolence to human ſociety, full of every generous paſſion, and every noble principle; a terrible rebuke to iniquity, vice and baſeneſs, in all ſtations and ſhapes; and one continued leſſon of wiſdom and virtue. Theſe are the excellencies which in civil life recommend Books and Men; theſe the excellencies which recommend Tacitus; excellencies which he has carried as high as the utmoſt efforts of human genius could carry them. Mr. Bayle ſays, "Ses Annales & ſon Hiſtoire ſont quelque "choſe d'admirable, & l'un des plus grands efforts "de l'eſprit humain; ſoit que l'on y conſidere la "ſingularité du ſtile, ſoit que l'on s'attache à la "beauté des penſes, & à cet heureux pinceau avec

"lequel

" lequel il a ſçu peindre les diſguiſemens & les four-
" beries des politiques, & le foible des paſſions."

Nor does he ſhew more abilities than probity, as aſtoniſhing as his abilities were; and having ſo much, what more did he want for his deſign? or what more could we wiſh in him? Which is the better inſtructor, he who has ſtore of faith, but wants virtue, and abounds not in good ſenſe; or he who wants the firſt, but abounds in knowledge and the rules of righteouſneſs? It is for this we conſult Tacitus, not for his Theological Speculations. How do his metaphyſical notions impede his excellencies as an Hiſtorian and Politician; or his miſtakes in one thing, leſſen his diſcernment and veracity in another?

According to the accounts of our beſt Travellers concerning China, the Mandarins who are the Nobility of the country, the Learned, and ſuch as hold the Magiſtracy, have no religion at all, their governing principle is public ſpirit; their principal ſtudy the good of the State; and they are noted for politeneſs and virtue. The Bonzes or Prieſts, on the contrary, pretend to extraordinary devotion; but are vicious, ſordid, baſe, and void of every virtue private or public. Here is an inſtance of a Monarchy the moſt thriving of any upon earth, or that ever was upon earth; an Empire that contains more people than half the reſt of the globe, theſe people full of induſtry and arts; yet adminiſtred by men who are of no particular Religion, or Sect, but are guided by the natural lights of Reaſon and Morality; nor knows it a greater blot and diſgrace than the vile lives of its Prieſts and Religious.

Againſt this inſtance ſet another, that of the Pope's Dominions, the center of the Romiſh Religion; where holy men ſway all things, and have engroſſed all things; where tortures and flames keep out Infidels and Heretics, and every man who thinks

awry; and where the champions for devotion, ſo called, protect the Church, and feed themſelves. Now where but here ſhould one look for the marks of opulence, eaſe, and plenty, and public happineſs, if by an Adminiſtration of Prieſts and Devotees, public happineſs were advanced? But behold a different and melancholy ſcene! Countries fertile, but deſolate; the people ignorant, idle, and ſtarving, and all the marks and weight of Miſery!

Does not this merit reflection, that a Church blended and debauched with exceſſive wealth and power, is worſe, a thouſand times worſe than none; and that the mere light of nature and reaſon is many degrees more conducive to the temporal welfare of human kind, than a Religion or Church which is purely lucrative and ſelfiſh? Were the Romiſh Church, or any other Church that teaches pains and penalties; any that exalts Eccleſiaſtics into power, and leaves them the ſword, or wields it for them, once eſtabliſhed in China; there would in a little time be an end of their incredible numbers; and it would ſoon feel the cruel curſe attending the change. In this ſentiment I am vouched by that polite Writer, and candid Prelate, Dr. Tillotſon: 'Better it were, ſays he, there were no revealed 'Religion, and that human nature were left to the 'conduct of its own principles and inclinations, 'which are much more mild and merciful, much 'more for the peace and happineſs of human ſo-'ciety; than to be acted by a Religion that inſpires 'men with ſo wild a fury, and prompts them to 'commit ſuch outrages.' Serm. Vol. I. p. 206.

Make another compariſon between two particulars, a Heathen guided by reaſon, and a Chriſtian by paſſion and falſe zeal; between Tacitus and St. Jerom; behold the politeneſs, candour, eternal truth, and good ſenſe in the one; mark the raſhneſs and enthuſiaſm, the fierceneſs and falſhood of the other.

So

So much ſtronger were the paſſions and inſincerity of this great Saint, than the impreſſions of the Chriſtian Religion, which is all meekneſs and candour; nay, he often makes it a ſtale for his fury, forgeries, and implacable vengeance. I meddle not with his ſtrange maxims, ſome fooliſh, ſome mad, many impracticable, and others turbulent and ſeditious. In Tacitus you have the good ſenſe and breeding of a Gentleman; in the Saint the rage and dreams of a Monk. Does the religion of the latter recommend his reveries and bitter ſpirit; or the want of it in Tacitus, weaken the ſhining truths that are in him?

When a Writer relates facts, or reaſons from principles, his good ſenſe and veracity only are to be regarded; and we have no more to do with his ſpeculations or miſtakes in other matters, than with his perſon or complexion. Pliny and Ariſtotle are reckoned Atheiſts; but what is this to their fine parts and learning? With ſmall ſpirits and bigots every thing that is noble and free, is Atheiſm and Blaſphemy. The littleneſs and ſourneſs of their own hearts, is the meaſure of all things. Nerva, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius were Heathen Princes; but they had virtue and benevolence, and their adminiſtration was righteous: What more did their ſubjects want from them? Juſtinian, Conſtantius, John Baſilowitz, John Galeas, and Lewis the eleventh were Chriſtian Princes, and men pretending to high Devotion; ſome of them great contenders for Orthodoxy, and great builders of Churches; but all barbarous and conſuming Tyrants. What were the people or themſelves the better for their Religion, without good nature and probity? Nay, they made Religion one of the principal machines for Tyranny; as Religion in a Tyrant or Impoſtor is little elſe but an impious bargain and compoſition with God for abuſing men.

Such in truth is the ſituation of things below, ſuch the frame and foible of men, that it depends in a great meaſure upon Civil Government, whether Religion ſhall in this world do good or harm. Is a country filled with oppreſſion, the happier for being filled too with Churches and Prieſts, as were Greece and Italy by Juſtinian? Or can a country that abounds in virtue, and happineſs, and good Laws, want any more to all the purpoſes of ſocial life; like Lacedæmon and Rome in their beſt ages? Let us praiſe all who have true Religion, full of mercy, and void of bigotry; but let us not condemn ſuch as, for want of the ſame lights and revelation which we have been bleſſed with, are, without any forms of Religion, virtuous and wiſe. Certainly worſe, much worſe than none, is that Religion which inſpires pride, bigotry, and fierceneſs, and hath not charity for all men.

To conclude this head, I ſhall here ſubjoin what I have ſaid elſewhere to the like purpoſe; 'That 'black is not white, and that two and two make four 'is as true out of the mouth of an Atheiſt, as out of 'the mouth of an Apoſtle. A penny given by an Atheiſt to a beggar, is better alms than a halfpenny 'given by a Believer; and the good ſenſe of an 'Atheiſt is preferable to the miſtakes of a good 'Chriſtian. In ſhort, whatever reputed Atheiſts 'do well, or ſpeak truly, is more to be imitated and 'credited, than what the greateſt Believers do wickedly, or ſay falſely. Even in the buſineſs of bearing 'teſtimony, or making a report, in which caſes 'the credit or reputation of the witneſs gives ſome 'weight, or none, to what he ſays; more regard 'is to be had to the word of an Unbeliever, who 'has no intereſt on either ſide, than to the word of 'a Believer, who has; neither are the good or bad 'actions of an Atheiſt worſe, with reſpect to the 'world at leaſt, for his being one; though the ſin

'of

'of a Saint is more ſinful than that of a Pagan. It 'is the greateſt folly to think that any man's crimes 'are the leſs for him who commits them; or that 'truth is leſs or more truth, for the ill or good 'name of him who ſpeaks it.'

Sect. XI. The fooliſh cenſure of BOCCALINI and others upon TACITUS.

THE cenſure paſſed upon Tacitus by Boccalini and ſome of the other Commentators, as if he malicioufly taught leſſons of Tyranny; is ſo ſenſeleſs and abſurd, that it merits no notice, much leſs confutation. As well may they ſay that Luther and father Paul diſplay the encroachments and frauds of the Church of Rome, on purpoſe to teach that or other Churches how to oppreſs and deceive; or that Livy, as great a Republican as ever lived, expoſed the uſurpations and Tyranny of Tarquin, in order to inſtruct Uſurpers to ſupport themſelves and extinguiſh public liberty. Tacitus repreſents Tyrants as odious to all men, and even to themſelves. But what anſwer could one give to a man who ſhould advance that Grotius wrote his Book of the Truth of Chriſtianity, with a view to promote and confirm Paganiſm?

Sect. XII. Of the ſeveral Commentators and Tranſlators of TACITUS.

IT were almoſt endleſs to mention all who have written upon Tacitus, and their ſucceſs; numbers have done it, many as Critics, ſome politically; and ſeveral of the former with ſufficiency and applauſe, ſuch as Lipſius, Freinſhemius, old Gronovius, and Ryckius. From the edition publiſhed by this laſt I have made my Tranſlation; the text is very correct, and his notes are judicious and good. Of all thoſe who have commented upon his poli-

tics, I can commend but very few ; I mean ſuch as I have ſeen ; many of them are worſe than indifferent : tedious compilations of common places, or heavy paraphraſes upon the original, where its vigour is loſt in ſuperfluous explications ; and the lively thoughts of Tacitus converted into lifeleſs maxims ; frequently wrong converted ; frequently trifling and affected ; often ſuch diſcoveries as are obvious to every peaſant or child ; or puffy declamations, tedious, laboured and uninſtructive. Of one or the other ſort are the Commentaries of Boccalini, Annibal Scōti, Forſtnerus, Schildus, and divers others.

Mr. Amelot De La Houſſaye has made a large collection of political obſervations upon Tacitus, as far as the thirteenth Annal incluſive ; ſome of them pertinent and uſeful ; but many of them inſipid, and little worth. The very firſt which he makes, is flat and poor ; " dés que la Roïauté com-
" mence a degénérer en tyrannie, le peuple aſpire
" à la liberté." Little better is this ; " quand un
" Prince commence à devenir infirme, ou caſſe,
" tout le monde tourne les yeux vers le ſoleil le-
" vant, c'eſt à dire, vers ſon ſucceſſeur ;" or this ;
" les refus du Prince doivent être aſſaiſonnez de
" douceur & de courtoiſie ;" or this ; " ceux mê-
" me qui ont renoncé à leur honneur, & qui font
" gloire de leur ſcelerateſſe, s'offenſent d'etre ap-
" pellez traitres ;" or this ; " un bon General ne
" doit jamais hazarder une bataille, qu'il n'ait mis
" bon ordre par tout ;" this too ; " il n'y a rien
" dont un Favori, ou un premier Miniſtre, doive
" ſe mettre plus en peine, que de bien connoitre
" l'humeur de ſon Prince ;" this too ; " un Prince
" dépouillé de ſes Etats ne reſte pas volontiers en-
" tre les mains de celui qui en eſt emparé." All this is trite, void of force and inſtruction.

The

The Spaniſh Tranſlation by Don Alamos de Barrientos, is accompanied with numerous Annotations, by him ſtiled Aforiſmos, which are as indifferent and impotent as the Tranſlation itſelf is good and ſtrong. His obſervation upon, "cuncta "diſcordiis civilibus feſſa, nomine principis ſub im- "perium accepit, is, Quando alguno ſe viniere a "hazer Senor de una grande, y poderoſa cividad "libre, lo mas ordinario ſerà deſpues de una larga "guerra civil;" 'the opportunity for any one to 'become maſter of a great and powerful free City, 'is moſt commonly at the end of a great civil war.' Tacitus ſays that Auguſtus left the firſt Lords of the Senate his heirs in the third degree, though moſt of them were hated by him; "pleroſque in- "viſos ſibi, ſed jactantia gloriaque ad poſteros." Don Alamos obſerves upon this; "El principe "muchas vezes haze honra a las perſonas que abor- "rece, para gagnar fama de modeſtia y ſufrimien- "to;" 'a Prince often confers honours on thoſe 'he hates, purely for the reputation of moderation 'and temper." Tacitus ſays of Germanicus, "an- "xius occultis in ſe patrui aviæque odiis, quo- "rum cauſſæ acriores, quia iniquæ; El hombre "inocente y bueno, (ſays Don Alamos by way of "Annotation) de ninguna coſa recibe tanta con- "goxa, como de los ſecretos aborrecimientos que "ſabe le tienen ſus parientos, ſin merecerlo;" 'a 'worthy and innocent man feels ſo much anguiſh 'from nothing as from the ſecret hate which he 'knows his parents bear him, without deſerving it.'

Of ſmall value are ſuch reflections, and ſmall thought they coſt to produce them; the leſs is the wonder that Don Alamos has vented ſuch a myriad. Canini, an Italian, has however tranſlated them into his own languague, with high encomiums, and publiſhed them with the Italian tranſlation of Politi, a Tranſlation which reads well, but hampers the

thoughts of Tacitus, and from an affectation to be as conciſe as the original, loſes much of its weight and ſpirit. Don Alamos, on the contrary, opens the ſentiments of Tacitus fully, often over-fully, by ſupplemental parentheſes, that are ſometimes perfectly needleſs, and always mar and embarraſs the reading.

Theſe are the only Spaniſh and Italian Verſions which I have ſeen of Tacitus. There are two more of the former, by Sueyro and Coloma, both well eſteemed; and as many more Italian by Dati and Davanzati, not at all commended. Of French Tranſlations there are five or ſix, all, except two, good for little, ſome of them good for nothing. Theſe two are by Mr. D'Harlay De Chanvallon, who has done the whole, Mr. Amelot De La Houſſaye, who has only gone as far as the thirteenth Annal. The former is vigorous and juſt, like that of a man of ſenſe and obſervation; nor has the latter any advantage over him, ſave that his French is more modern, if that be any. Ablancourt is likewiſe one of the French Tranſlators of Tacitus, a man of name and of a flowing ſtile; but if he has abuſed other Authors as he has abuſed and transformed Tacitus, it is fit they were all done over again. There is ſome life in him, and harmony, but no juſtneſs nor ſtrength. All the force and fine ideas of Tacitus are loſt in Ablancourt.

Sect. XIII. A Conjecture concerning the modern Languages, more largely concerning the Engliſh.

OF the French Tongue itſelf I may venture to ſay, after better judges than my ſelf, that from a laxneſs and effeminacy eſſential to it, it cannot naturalize the ſtrong expreſſions of the Ancients, without ſpreading and weakening them conſiderably.

It

It has a number of relatives, particles and monoſyllables that return inceſſantly, and flatten the ſenſe, and tire the ear. The Engliſh Language has indeed many words more harſh than the French; but it has likewiſe many more ſpirituous and ſounding; and though it be alſo loaded with relatives, particles and words of one ſyllable, yet I think not to the ſame degree, nor do thoſe we have return ſo often; and we can frequently drop the particles, and leave them to be underſtood, as well as the relatives.

In this reſpect the Latins had an advantage over the Greeks; as thoſe two Languages have over every other that is now in the world, or perhaps ever was. We are infinitely behind them in ſignificancy and ſound, and, with all our adventitious words and refinements, are ſtill crude and gothic to them. Neareſt in Language to the Ancients come the Spaniards and Italians, though ſtill far behind; yet they ſtand over the heads of the Engliſh and French, and walk while we creep. The Spaniſh is the more ſonorous and lofty; the Italian the more ſweet and gliding; and both excel in harmony, numeroſity, and the pomp of words. The Italians ſeem to have ſpoiled their Tongue, by wild hyperboles, and phraſes of mere ſound and compliment; whether it be from the turn of the nation to Love and Muſic; whether it be from the Legends of their Saints, and their extravagant Panegyrics upon them, or from their Slavery to Churchmen, or the Severity of their Government, or from what other cauſe, I do not pretend to determine.

The French profeſs to have greatly refined their Tongue; and it is indeed brought to be exceeding glib and perſpicuous; but whether the refiners have not pared away its ſtrength to make it more ſhapely and regular has been doubted. Some refinements we alſo have made in ours, perhaps by imitating the French; though I hope we have better preſerved

its force. Eaſy writing has been ſtudied to affectation; a ſort of writing, which, where the thoughts are not cloſe, the ſenſe ſtrong, and the phraſe genteel, is of all others the moſt contemptible. Such were the productions of Sir Roger L' Eſtrange, not fit to be read by any who have taſte or good breeding; they are full of technical terms, of phraſes picked up in the ſtreet from apprentices and porters, and nothing can be more low and nauſeous. His ſentences, beſides their groſsneſs, are lively nothings, which can never be tranſlated (a ſure way to try language) and will hardly bear repetition. "Between hawk and buzzard: "Clawed him with kindneſs: Alert and friſky: "Guzzling down tipple: Would not keep touch: "A queer putt: Lay curſed hard upon their giz-"zard: Cram his gut: Conceited noddy: Old "chuff:" And the like, are ſome of Sir Roger's choice flowers. Yet this man was reckoned a Maſter, nay a Reformer of the Engliſh Language; a man who writ no Language; nor does it appear that he underſtood any; witneſs his miſerable Tranſlations of Cicero's Offices and Joſephus. That of the latter is a Verſion full of miſtakes, wretched and low, from an eaſy and polite one of Monſieur D' Andilly.

Sir Roger is one amongſt the ſeveral hands who attempted Tacitus, and the third Book of the Hiſtory is ſaid to be done by him. He knew not a word of it but what he has taken from Sir Henry Savill, and him he has wretchedly perverted and mangled; Out of the wiſe and grave mouth of Tacitus, he brings ſuch quaint ſtuff as this; "to caſt the point "upon that iſſue:——ſneaking departure of Vi-"tellius:——at the rate of a man at his wit's "end:——ſottiſh multitude never went beyond "bawling:——an Emperor lugg'd out of his "hole:——the ſexton of the Capitol:——the "Govern-

" Government dropt into Veſpaſian's mouth :——
" not cut out for a ſoldier :——went not a ſneaking
" way to work :——Valens in the interim with
" his diſſolute train of capons :" [into this ſenſeleſs cant word Sir Roger elegantly changes that of Eunuchs uſed by Sir H. Savill; for I dare ſay he neither ſaw nor knew the original, agmine ſpadonum]:
" the Emperor guzzling and gormandizing like a
" beaſt."

Such jargon is hardly good enough for a Puppet-ſhew. Sir Roger had a genius for buffoonry and a rabble, and higher he never went; his ſtile and his thoughts are too vulgar for a ſenſible artificer. To put his Books into the hands of youth or boys, for whom chiefly Æſop, by him burleſqued, was deſigned, is to vitiate their taſte, and to give them a poor low turn of thinking; not to mention the vile and ſlaviſh principles of the man. He has not only turned Æſop's plain Beaſts, from the ſimplicity of nature, into Jeſters and Buffoons; but out of the mouths of animals inured to the boundleſs freedom of air and deſarts, has drawn doctrines of ſervitude, and a defence of Tyranny.

The taſte and ſtile of the Court is always the ſtandard of the public. At the Reſtoration, a time of great feſtivity and joy, the formal and forbidding gravity of the preceding times, became a faſhionable topic of ridicule; a manner different and oppoſite was introduced; jeſt and waggery were encouraged; and the King himſelf delighted in drollery and low humour. Hence the Language became replete with ludicrous phraſes; archneſs and cant grew diverting; the writings of witlings paſſed for wit; and if they were ſevere upon the Sectaries, as the faſhion was, they pleaſed the Court. By this means L'Eſtrange got his character. It is very true that there appeared at the ſame time men of juſt wit, and polite ſtile; but it cannot be denied but that the other

manner was prevalent; the greateſt wits ſometimes fell into it.

This humour ended not with that Reign, nor the next, but was continued after the Revolution by L'Eſtrange, Tom Brown, and other delighters in low jeſts, their imitators; and ſuch witlings have contributed conſiderably to debauch our Tongue. If we go ſo high as Queen Elizabeth's time, we ſhall find that a good ſtile began then to be uſed, agreeably to the good ſenſe of that Princeſs, and her Court; and we have the Language of that age in Sir Walter Raleigh, whoſe genius was too juſt and ſtrong to go into the miſerable pedantry of the next reign. Many of the productions then, and particularly the Royal productions, are wretched beyond meaſure; (I wiſh the honour and politics of thoſe days had been better) nor could ſo conſiderable a man as Sir Francis Bacon eſcape the infection.

The next Prince affected a high and rigid gravity, and a pomp and ſolemnity of ſtile became common; yet the Language began to recover, when the cant and enthuſiaſm enſuing, gave it a new turn extremely inſipid and offenſive. But between the reign of King James and the Reſtoration, ſeveral Writers appeared eminently happy in their ſtile: Such particularly was Mr. Chillingworth, whoſe language is flowing, and free as his own candid ſpirit. The ſame character is due to the excellent Lord Falkland, and Mr. Hales of Eaton. Mr. Hobbes's Engliſh is beautiful almoſt, if not altogether beyond example; nothing can be finer than his way of expreſſing his thoughts; his Stile is as ſingularly good, charming and clear, as many of his principles are dangerous and falſe. Under this character of his ſtile I do not comprize his Tranſlation of Thucydides; as it does not, however juſt it be, reſemble his other Works. Hence I am in-

inclinable to believe what I have heard, that it was done by ſome of his diſciples, and by him reviſed; yet it far excels moſt of our Tranſlations. Milton's Engliſh Proſe is harſh and uncouth, though vigorous and expreſſive. The ſtile of Selden and Hammond is rugged and perplexed.

Sect. XIV. A Conjecture concerning the preſent ſtate of the Engliſh Tongue, with an account of the preſent Work.

OF the Character of Writing in our own time, were I to give my opinion, I ſhould be apt a ſay, that in general it comes too near to talking; to method which will hardly make it delightful or laſting; no words upon paper will have the ſame effect as words accompanied with a voice, looks and action; hence the thoughts and language ſhould be ſo far raiſed as to ſupply the want of thoſe advantages; but indeed this is impoſſible, and therefore there is the greater cauſe for heightening the ſtile; now becauſe laboured periods are offenſive, and flat ones are inſipid, the excellency lies between pomp and negligence. Let it be as eaſy as you pleaſe, but let it be ſtrong; two advantages that are very compatible, and often found in the ſame writer. Livy is remarkable for both; it is his eloquence and ornaments which have preſerved him in ſuch eſteem, as much as his matter and good ſenſe. The late Lord Shaftesbury, though he has been perhaps too anxious and affected in forming his phraſe to eaſineſs and fluency, has yet had good ſucceſs; ſince it is manifeſt that his ſoft alluring ſtile has multiplied his Readers, and helped powerfully to recommend his Works. Dr. Burnet of the Charter-Houſe wrote with great eloquence and majeſty, yet eaſy and unaffected. Dr. Tillotſon's Stile is plain and pleaſant, enlivened too with fine images and ſtrong

ſenſe ; yet many, while they ſtrove to imitate him, have written very poorly. This has happened to ſome of our Divines, who, ſtudying his manner, but wanting his genius, have uttered a flow of words, which ſound not ill, but lack ſpirit and matter. I have looked over whole pages of Biſhop Blackal's Sermons, without finding any thing which offended the ear, or pleaſed the imagination, or informed the underſtanding. I cannot help mentioning here another Writer, who has gained great reputation for Stile, without deſerving any ; I mean Dr. Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter. His expreſſion is languiſhing and inſipid, full of falſe pomp, full of affectation. He is always aiming at harmony and wit, but ſucceeds ill ; for his manner is ſtarched and pedantic. With much greater juſtice has the Stile of Dr. Atterbury, his ſucceſſor, been admired.

Our Tongue is naturally cold, and the leſs force our words have, the more they muſt be multiplied ; this multiplying of words is tedious ; thence the remedy is as bad as the diſeaſe. The Latin phraſes, on the contrary, are ſhort and lively, and a few words convey many images. Theſe difficulties, with many others, I found in this Tranſlation very ſenſibly. I wanted new words, but have rarely coined any, as the creating of words is generally thought affected and vain ; yet I have ſometimes ventured upon a new phraſe, and a way of my own, upon drawing the Engliſh idiom as near as poſſible to that of the Latin, and to the genius of my Author ; by leaving the beaten road, dropping particles, tranſpoſing words, and ſometimes beginning a ſentence where it is uſual to end it. I have ſtudied to imitate the ſpirit, eloquence and turns of Tacitus, as far as I could, aſſiſted by a Language weak in its ſounds, and looſe in its contexture. This manner of writing, I own, would be ſtrange and even ridiculous in plain and familiar ſubjects ; but where

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the ſubject is high and ſolemn, there muſt be a conformity of ſtile.

In the political Diſcourſes following, I have likewiſe taken a method of my own, in reaſoning largely upon topics which to me ſeemed of the moſt moment to this free Nation, and giving an idea of the politics of the Cæſars; of the "vis, artes, & inſtrumenta regni," as they are called by Tacitus. I have vindicated the principles of civil Liberty; I have examined the defences made for Cæſar and Auguſtus; I have diſplayed the genius of theſe Uſurpers; the temper and debaſement of the people; with the conduct and tyranny of their ſucceſſors, to the end of the Annals. In my Tranſlation of the Hiſtory I have done the ſame. I have little troubled myſelf with the ſtrife and gueſſes of Commentators, and various Readings. I have choſen the beſt editions, and where the meaning was dubious, taken the moſt probable; for, after all, there is a good deal of gueſs-work and uncertainty; difficulties not peculiar to Tacitus.

I was perſuaded to this undertaking ſeveral years ago by a friend of mine, a Gentleman of Letters in the City; for then I had never ſeen the Engliſh Tranſlation, and knew not but it was a good one. Mr. Trenchard approved the deſign with his uſual zeal for every thing which favoured public Liberty. My Lord Carteret, who underſtands Tacitus perfectly, and admires him, was pleaſed to think me not unfit for it, and gave me many juſt lights about the manner of doing it; that particularly of allowing myſelf ſcope and freedom, without which I am ſatisfied every Tranſlation muſt be pedantic and cold. A Tranſlation ought to read like an Original. The Duke of Argyll eſpouſed it generouſly, with that frankneſs which is natural to him, agreeably to his knowledge and taſte of polite Learning, and to his ſincere love of Liberty. So did my Lord Town-

Townſhend. Sir Robert Walpole encouraged me in the purſuit of it in a manner eminently to my credit; and to many Gentlemen of my acquaintance I am much obliged upon this occaſion. I own I have been long about this Tranſlation; that I was ſo, is to be aſcribed not ſo much to idleneſs, as to diffidence. It was done a long while before I put it to the preſs; after all my care and many reviſes, I continued apprehenſive that much fault might be found, and many objections made; a misfortune which I ſtill doubt I ſhall not be able to eſcape, and wiſh I may not deſerve. I therefore rely more on the candour of my Readers, than on my own ſufficiency. Thoſe of them who underſtand Tacitus in the original, will eaſily make allowances for the difficulty of making him ſpeak any other Language. I have been chiefly careful not to miſtake the ſentiments of my Author about human Nature and Government; and I will venture to ſay, that no man who has not accuſtomed himſelf to think upon theſe two ſubjects, can ever make tolerable ſenſe of Tacitus, let him be as learned in other things as he will. For the ſame reaſon, no man that is merely Learned, can ever be pleaſed with a free Tranſlation, however faithful and juſt; for his chief attachment will ever be to Words and Criticiſm. Who had more Learning than Sir H. Savill? 'tis plain he abounded beyond moſt men; but I ſuppoſe Learning was his chief accompliſhment; and thence his Tranſlation is a very poor one. The fault cannot be aſcribed to the time; for at that time the polite world wrote and ſpoke well; and if Sir Walter Raleigh had then tranſlated it, no body I believe would have ever attempted to mend it.

DIS-

DISCOURSE III.

Upon CÆSAR the Dictator.

Sect. I. Of CÆSAR's Uſurpation, and why his Name is leſs odious than that of CATILINE.

NOTHING has been hitherto found a ſufficient check and barrier to the exorbitant paſſions of men; neither kindneſs nor ſeverity; nor mulcts nor pain; nor honour; nor infamy; nor the terrors of death. A proof how far human malice or ambition is an over-match for human wiſdom; ſince Laws and Conſtitutions framed by the beſt and wiſeſt men, have, firſt or laſt, become the ſport and conqueſt of the worſt, ſometimes of the moſt fooliſh. Could wiſe Eſtabliſhments have enſured the ſtability of a State, that of Rome had been immortal. Beſides adopting all the beſt Inſtitutions of the free States of Greece, [a] her principal ſtruggle and employment for ſome Centuries, was the ſubduing of foreign enemies by Arms, and the ſecuring of domeſtic Liberty by wholſome Laws; and for Laws and Arms ſhe was the wonder and the glory of the earth. But ſhe, whoſe force and policy no power could withſtand, not that of Greece nor of Carthage, nor of the World, fell by the corruption, and perfidiouſneſs, and violence of her own Citizens. The only ſword that could hurt her, was her own; with that ſhe truſted Cæſar, and that he turned unnaturally upon his own mother, and by it enſlaved her.

[a] Accitis quæ uſquam egregia.

Cati-

Catiline's conſpiracy and crime every man deteſts; yet Cæſar accompliſhed what Catiline only intended. Had he better qualities than Catiline? he was ſo much the worſe, and able to do higher miſchiefs. See how infatuation prevails! the ſame men who abhor Catiline, admire Cæſar, who actually did more evil than ever the wicked heart of Catiline had conceived. But Catiline had no ſucceſs, nor conſequently flatterers. Had he ſucceeded, had he entailed Rome upon his race, and ſuch as would have been concerned to have guarded his fame; there would not have been wanting flattering Poets and Hiſtorians to have echoed his Praiſes and Genius divine, his Eloquence, Courage, Liberality and Politics, and how much the degeneracy of Rome wanted ſuch a Reformer, with every other topic urged in defence of Cæſar. But Catiline failed, and is owned to have been a Traitor. Cæſar's iniquity was triumphant, ſo was his name; and afterages have continued to reverence him by the force of habit, and of ſuperſtition which ſwallows every thing, examines nothing. When popular opinion has conſecrated a man or a name, all that man's actions, however wicked or fooliſh, and every thing done under that name, are ſure to be conſecrated too. The force of authority is irreſiſtible and infatuating, and reaſon and truth muſt yield to prejudice and words.

Sect. II. Of the public Corruption by CÆSAR promoted or introduced; with his bold and wicked Conduct.

WAS the Commonwealth become disjointed and corrupt; as in truth it was deeply and dangerouſly? Who had contributed ſo much as Cæſar to that wicked work? From his firſt appearance in the world he confederated with every public Incendiary,

diary, with every troubler of the peace of the State, with every Traitor againſt his Country: Inſomuch that he was diveſted of the dignity of Prætor by a ſolemn Decree of Senate: and when he ſollicited for the Conſulſhip, his ambition and violent deſigns were ſo much apprehended in that ſupreme office [b], that to check him with a proper Collegue, the Senators contributed a great ſum of money; nor did even Cato deny but that ſuch contribution, however againſt Law, was neceſſary then to ſave the State [c].

He began that Office with violent acts of power; by violence diſpoſſeſſed his Collegue of all Share in the Adminiſtration; and, during the whole term, he raiſed and pulled down, gave and took away by mere will and power, whatſoever and whomſoever he would; terrified ſome, impriſoned others; forged plots, ſuborned lying accuſers, and then murdered them, and trampled upon all Faith and Law.

To eſcape puniſhment for all theſe outrages, he corrupted and bribed the people, to chuſe his own creatures into the Magiſtracy, or bribed the Magiſtrates after they were choſen. He went ſo far as even to engage ſome of them, by oath and writing, never to call him to account, nor ſuffer him to be called.

By the ſame wicked methods he obtained for his lot the province of Gaul, and kept it for ten years, committing freſh treaſon every day; making war of his own head, right or wrong, upon friend and foe; inſomuch that it was propoſed in Senate to deliver him up to the enemy; but faction and bribery ſaved him, and from the moſt extenſive rapine he derived his power of bribing. He feaſted the

[b] Nihil non auſurum eum in ſummo magiſtratu.

[c] Ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e Rep. fieri.

people;

people; he gave them largeſſes; he gained the Senators by money, the ſoldiers by donatives; nay, the favourite ſervants and loweſt ſlaves of conſiderable men, were bribed by him. Every prodigal, every expenſive youth, every man indebted and deſperate, every criminal, found in him a ready ſupport and protector; and when their expences, debts, and crimes, were ſo exceſſive as to admit of no relief from him, to ſuch he was wont to preach the abſolute neceſſity of a Civil War.

Nor did foreign Kings and Nations eſcape his court and gifts: upon them he beſtowed aids, and arms, and captives, all belonging to the Roman people, and without their authority; thus to purchaſe foreign friendſhip againſt a day of uſurpation and need. To do all this he robbed the Provinces, plundered Towns, pillaged Temples, even the Capitol he plundered, whence he ſtole a vaſt quantity of gold, and placed ſo much gilt braſs in the room of it, and put whole Kingdoms and Provinces under contribution to his privy purſe.

How many thouſand deaths did this man deſerve, even before he had committed his capital iniquity! It was he who thus principally corrupted the State, and embroiled it, and unſettled it in all its parts.

He offered indeed to diſband his forces, if Pompey would do ſo too; but even this offer was giving law to Rome. The Senate was to judge and not Cæſar, what armies were to be diſbanded, what to be retained. Beſides, even that propoſal was juſtly ſuſpected to have been faithleſs and hollow; ſince, had he executed the ſame, it had been eaſier for him to have re-aſſembled upon occaſion his veteran ſoldiers, than for Pompey his troops lately levied

Had there been no corruption in the State, ſuch a man was enough to introduce it. From his infancy he was thought to have meditated the enſlaving of his Country, and in order to enſlave it,

created

created corruption, or improved it. To commit the blackeſt treaſon and iniquity that the malice of man could deviſe, he ſtuck at no other, but by a Babel of crimes accompliſhed the higheſt.

Sect. III. Cæsar might have purified and reformed the State; but far different were his intentions. His Art, good Senſe, and continued ill Deſigns.

DID the State want reforming? why did not Cæſar reform and reſtore it? This would have been true glory, the only true uſe of his abſolute power, and the only amends for having aſſumed it. The work too was practicable; the wiſeſt and greateſt men in Rome thought it ſo, even after all the poiſon and depravity introduced by him. Brutus, Cicero, and the Senate thought ſo; elſe he would never have been put to Death by thoſe who did it. If the State had been deemed irretrievable, and an Uſurper a neceſſary evil, they could not have had a better than Cæſar. But they judged otherwiſe, and for ſome time Liberty was actually reſtored. Why it ſubſiſted no longer, was owing to caſualties and the faithleſſneſs of Octavius. No human wiſdom can take in all incidents and poſſibilities at one view; to ſee them by ſucceſſion is often to ſee them too late; and againſt what is not foreſeen no remedy can be provided. Cicero who ſwayed the Senate, in hatred to Anthony, truſted Octavius too much, and raiſed him too high, and was by that falſe creature given up to the ſlaughter, to ſatiate the vengeance of Anthony, to cement their late union, and to begin the bloody Tragedy which they had meditated againſt their Country and her Liberty, by the murder of ſo ſignal a Patriot. What followed was horrible, continued maſſacres and the

rage

rage of the ſword, the people armed againſt one another, two thirds of them deſtroyed, and Auguſtus eſtabliſhed Sovereign over the reſt. He too thought it poſſible to reſettle the old free State, by propoſing once or twice to reſign; however inſincere he were, it was a confeſſion that he thought it to be practicable; and Druſus, his wife's ſon, declared his own purpoſe to effect it; nay, it was what Tiberius, after he was Emperor, pretended to do.

Cæſar was ſaid to have foretold the public Calamities and Civil Wars to enſue: Why did he not prevent them? By his Dictatorial power he might have removed what enormities, and made what regulations he would, ſuppreſſed the inſolence of particulars, revived the force of the Laws, and reduced the Commonwealth to her firſt principles and firmneſs. Inſtead of this, he continued, more and more, to break her remaining balance, to weaken and debauch the people, and to deſtroy every Law of Liberty.

Liberty and the Republic were a jeſt to Cæſar; he treated the very name with ridicule and contempt [d]; he punned upon Sylla for reſigning his uſurped power. He had nothing in his head or heart but abſolute rule, a Diadem, the title of King, and controuling the world according to his luſt [e]; nay to have his very words go for Laws [f]; and as a proof that he meant to entail all this pompous Dominion upon his race, he had a Law ready to be propoſed for a privilege of taking as many Wives as he thought fit, and of what quality and condition he thought fit. His acts of Tyranny were indeed ſo many, ſo high and inſupportable, that even

[d] Nihil eſſe Rempublicam; appellationem modo ſine corpore ac ſpecie.

[e] Nullos non honores ad libidinem cœpit & dedit, ſpreto Patriæ more.

[f] Debere homines pro Legibus habere quæ dicat.

his

his dear friends the populace, notwithſtanding all his bounties, his feaſts and ſhews, and all his other arts to ſooth and debauch them, grew ſullen and diſcontented; they declaimed againſt ſuch uſurpation, in their houſes and in the Forum; they called aloud for avengers, and gave him public affronts.

By the Laws of Rome the Dominion of one, and conſequently the Dominion of Cæſar, was deteſtable and accurſed, and any man was warranted to ſlay the Tyrant [g]: Nor was there any valid reaſon againſt killing Cæſar, but that ſomewhat as bad or worſe was to follow. Now the beſt and ableſt Romans judged otherwiſe, as I have ſhewn; and who was better qualified to judge? As to Cæſar's prophecy of worſe times, it was deciding in his own favour, and not to be credited; and there was policy in it as well as vanity.

The accompliſhments of Cæſar, the mildneſs of his adminiſtration, and mercy to his enemies, have been much magnified. It is certain he had exquiſite abilities and addreſs; but how did he apply them? Was it not to be the Maſter of mankind? and was not this, intereſt and ſelf-love? What could be more intereſted, what more ſelfiſh, than to take the world to himſelf? Cæſar had good ſenſe and experience; he knew that particular acts of cruelty and revenge were odious, even more odious than the ſlaughter of thouſands, under the title of war and conqueſt, however unprovoked and unjuſt: So much more quarter from the world has ambition than cruelty, though the former is often the more miſchievous paſſion. He knew, that, while general acts of blood would paſs for Heroiſm, fit to be diſtinguiſhed with praiſe and laurels, a particular life, taken away in anger, would paſs for barbarity. Such fallacy is

[g] Eum jus faſque eſſet occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur.

there

there in ſounds, and in the imaginations of men! We judge not of evil by its quantity, the true medium of judging, but by its name, and the quality of the doer or ſufferer; hence the fooliſh cauſes of popularity without merit and innocence. Acts of rage, the execution of particulars, and a vindictive Reign, would have diminiſhed the Hero, and tarniſhed his fame, as much as his generoſity to enemies, his noble contempt of fear and offenders, blazoned his glory, and begot admirers.

Sect. IV. The probability of his waxing more cruel, had he reigned much longer.

THE generous, the forgiving temper of Cæſar, was no ſure warrant, that he would not have broke out into perſonal cruelties; for, of his public cruelty, Rome and the world were the theatre and the witneſſes: He muſt have acted agreeably to the neceſſities and jealouſy of power, broken thoſe necks which would not bend, and deſtroyed ſuch as he could not but conſtantly fear. I own there came after him ſome Emperors who reigned without many acts of blood; but the Sovereignty was then thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and they had no high ſpirits to fear, bred in the notions and poſſeſſion of Liberty, as were all the Romans in his time. Nor, even after ſervitude had been begun, and for ſome time ſuffered under Cæſar, could the ſecond Triumvirate think themſelves ſecure, till they had deſtroyed at once by Proſcription a whole army of illuſtrious Romans, ſuch as they conceived would oppoſe and even extirpate their domination. Nor did this tragical precaution and general barbarity, put an end to barbarity in particular inſtances; Auguſtus, for the firſt years of his reign, was making almoſt daily ſacrifices of noble blood to his fears and ſafety.

Power

Power of it ſelf makes men wanton, diſtruſtful and cruel; Cæſar lived not long enough in purple to ſhew what he would prove; five months were but a ſhort term for trial [h]. It would be raſh to aſſert, that he who had ſhed the blood of Nations and Armies, without provocation, without authority; he who had violated Liberty and Law, and put chains upon his country, and the race of men, would have ſpared particular lives, when from particular lives he came to apprehend danger and revolt. He that could be piqued even to folly and ridicule, becauſe Aquila the Tribune did not riſe as he paſſed by; he who could not put up this, nor forget it, nor ceaſe mentioning it upon every occaſion for a long while after, nor even forbear ſcolding at it, muſt have been capable of carrying his reſentment very far, as well as of ſudden anger; nay, been full of capricious and childiſh humours. How far ſuch humours, and vanity, and anger might have carried him, he lived not to ſhew. But he had amply ſhewn, that his Ambition was dearer to him than Rome and the whole earth, and to this private paſſion of his, every public regard had yielded; the genuine mark this of a Tyrant, who rules the State for his own ſake, and, rather than not rule it, enthralls it! Cæſar, who had committed all wickedneſs to gain power, would have committed more to have kept it, as ſoon as he found more to be neceſſary [i].

What avails the fair behaviour of one who may do what he pleaſes? What avail his fair promiſes, which he may break when he pleaſes? The worſt of the Roman Emperors began their Reigns well, many of them excellently well; as Nero, Claudius,

[h] Retinuit famam ſine experimento.

[i] Nemo enim unquam imperium flagitio quæſitum bonis artibus exercuit.

Caligula, Domitian [k]; ſome of them reigned well for ſome years. Cæſar was generous, magnificent, and humane to affectation, but [l] every paſſion, every ſentiment muſt yield to the ardent luſt of reigning. Had it not been for his great and acceptable qualities, he could not have introduced public bondage; the Hero, the Orator, and the fine Gentleman, hid the Uſurper, and palliated at leaſt the Uſurpation.

Let any man conſider Cæſar as a Subject of the State, altogether private; one who never bore Office or Authority; as a Phyſician, a Scribe or an Artiſt, or as one juſt ſtarted out of obſcurity, or come from another Country; and then aſk himſelf, What has this man, this private unknown man, to do with governing all men againſt Laws eſtabliſhed by all? His being once Conſul, his commanding of Armies, and appearing in a great public light; gave him no more right to do what he did, than the quality of an Artiſt, a Scribe, Phyſician, Upſtart, or Stranger, would have given him. Public truſts betrayed were aggravations of his crime, horrible aggravations! ſo were his excellent parts impiouſly applied.

Sect. V. CÆSAR no lawful Magiſtrate, but a public Enemy.

OF Cæſar, his Uſurpation and Death, I have reaſoned largely elſewhere [m], and ſhall here abridge part of that reaſoning. 'He had no ſort 'of Title, but ſucceſs, gained by violence and all 'wicked means. The acquiring and exerciſing of 'Power by force is Tyranny, nor is ſucceſs any

[k] Nihil abnuentem, dum dominationis adipiſceretur.

[l] Cunctis affectibus flagrantiorem dominandi libidinem.

[m] *See* CATO's Letters, Vol. II.

'proof

'proof of right. If the perſon of Cæſar was ſa-
'cred, ſo is the perſon of every Uſurper and Ty-
'rant; and if all the privileges and impunity be-
'longing to a lawful Magiſtrate, do alſo appertain
'to a lawleſs Intruder and public Oppreſſor, then
'all theſe bleſſed conſequences follow: There is an
'utter end of all right and wrong, public and pri-
'vate; every Uſurper is a lawful Magiſtrate; every
'Magiſtrate may be a lawleſs Tyrant. It is un-
'lawful to reſiſt the greateſt human evil; the ne-
'ceſſary means of ſelf-preſervation are unlawful:
'Though it be lawful and expedient to deſtroy little
'Robbers, who are ſo for ſubſiſtence, it is impious
'and unlawful to oppoſe great Robbers, who de-
'ſtroy nations out of luſt and ambition. Public
'miſchief is defended by giving it a good name,
'ſince Tyranny may be practiſed with impunity,
'if it be but called Magiſtracy; and the execrable
'Authors of it are ſacred, if they but call them-
'ſelves Magiſtrates; Though it be unlawful to be
'a public deſtroyer, yet it is unlawful to deſtroy
'him, and to prevent or puniſh that which is moſt
'impious and unlawful. In fine, any man who
'has wickedneſs and force enough to deſtroy or
'enſlave the whole world, may do it, and be ſafe.

'If Cæſar was a lawful Magiſtrate, every power-
'ful villain may make himſelf one, and lawful
'Magiſtrates may become ſuch by mere force and
'iniquity. But if lawful Magiſtracy be not ac-
'quired by violence and butchery, Cæſar was none:
'if he was not, how came he by the rights and
'impunity of ſuch?

'Againſt lawleſs force every man has a right to
'uſe force. Cæſar had no more right than Ala-
'rick, Attila, or Brennus, who were foreign In-
'vaders; his crime was greater, as, to that of uſur-
'pation, he added thoſe of ingratitude and trea-
'chery. It is owned that when he firſt made war

‘ upon his Country, his Country had a right to
‘ make war upon him; How came that right to
‘ ceaſe, when he had heightened that iniquity by
‘ ſucceſs? Is it lawful to reſiſt a Robber before he
‘ has robbed you, but not after? Is a wickedneſs
‘ leſſened by aggravations? Cæſar had forfeited his
‘ life by all the Laws of Rome; was it not as law-
‘ ful to take it away by thirty men as by thirty thou-
‘ ſand; in the Senate as in the field?

‘ A private man in ſociety, even capitally injured,
‘ muſt not be his own judge, but leave revenge to
‘ the more impartial Law; but a capital offender
‘ againſt all, who ſets himſelf above Law and Judg-
‘ ment, is a public enemy; and violence is the pro-
‘ per remedy for violence, when no other is left.
‘ In a State of Nature, every man has a right to
‘ vindicate himſelf; when Society is diſſolved, the
‘ ſame right returns. Men can never be deprived
‘ of both public protection and private defence.

‘ Cæſar had violated every tye that can bind the
‘ human ſoul; Oaths, Truſt, and Law; he had
‘ violated every thing dear to human kind, their
‘ Peace, Liberty, Rights and Poſſeſſions. He did
‘ all this by means the moſt black and flagitious;
‘ by Plots, Faction, Corruption, Robbery, De-
‘ vaſtation, Sacrilege, and Slaughter.

‘ What was left to the oppreſſed Romans to do,
‘ under the bonds of the Oppreſſor with his ſword
‘ at their throat? Law and Appeals were no more;
‘ a Tyrant was their Maſter; the Will of a Ty-
‘ rant their Law. Becauſe he had ſlaughtered and
‘ deſtroyed one half of the people, had he thence
‘ a right to govern the reſt? There was no public
‘ force to oppoſe him; he had deſtroyed many of
‘ the Armies of the State, and appropriated the reſt
‘ to himſelf againſt the State; it would have been
‘ madneſs to have thought of judicial proceſs. In
‘ ſhort,

'ſhort, there was no other way of aboliſhing his 'Tyranny, but by diſpatching the Tyrant."

Sect. VI. Of the ſhare which Caſualties had, in raiſing the Name and Memory of Cæſar. The Judgment of Cicero concerning him.

PEOPLE ſuffer their own imaginations to abuſe and miſlead them. The ſound of Cæſar's Name; the ſuperſtitious reverence paid to it, his great employments, great victories, and even his great uſurpation, are all pompous images that dazzle the eyes, and give a falſe luſtre to the blackeſt iniquity and impoſture. Nay, it proved an advantage to the fame and defence of Cæſar, that he was aſſaſſinated. Hence ſo much popular pity and lamentation for him; hence ſo much rage and obloquy upon the Tyrannicides. A violent death or violent ſufferings, often paſs for great merit, often atone for great crimes; and in the compaſſion for the doom of criminals the abhorrence of their villainies is often extinguiſhed; malefactors the moſt barbarous, who never ſhewed any mercy in their lives, are bewailed at their execution, only becauſe they are executed.

There were circumſtances alſo in his Death favourable to his fame; he died with decency and a manly ſpirit, and he fell by the hands of his friends. Theſe circumſtances, and his bloody ſhirt diſplayed to a mob, with an artful melting ſpeech from Anthony, inflamed them with ſorrow and fury; two groſs paſſions which do not reaſon but feel. The ſame topics have ever ſince furniſhed undiſcerning Declaimers with big words and vehemence, in behalf of ſo fine a man, ſlain for no fault but that of Uſurpation and Tyranny; a ſmall crime, that of being the enemy of human kind!

As to the glory and prosperous fortune of this mighty Conqueror, Cicero says, with great truth, 'that Felicity is nothing else but good fortune assisting righteous Counsels; nor can he whose purposes are not upright, be, from any success, esteemed in any-wise happy. Hence it is, that from the impious and abandoned pursuits of Cæsar, no true felicity could flow: happier, in my judgment, was Camillus under exile from his Country, than Manlius his co-temporary had been, though he had acquired over his Country that Tyranny which he lusted after [n].' The same wise man says elsewhere, 'that he would have preferred the last day of Antonius the Orator, tragical as it was, to the usurped rule of Cinna, by whom that worthy Roman was barbarously murdered.' I cannot admire Cæsar's ambition; he would rather have been Lord of a poor Village, than the second man in Rome. To me it appears more glory to be the Member of a free State, especially of the greatest State upon earth, than a Lord of Slaves, the biggest Lord.

Sect. VII. How vain it is to extol any Designs of his for the Glory of the Roman people.

IT is said, that Cæsar was meditating great and glorious things for the Roman people, when he was cut off. He might indeed have gathered empty Laurels for himself by more wars at the expence of the people; but how this would have redounded to their advantage, I cannot see. I can easily see, that all the future strength he could have acquired, must have been acquired to himself, and over them; and every accession of power must, by raising his Ty-

[n] Epist. ad nepot.

ranny

ranny higher, have ſunk them lower, and ſtreightened their chains. He wanted to fight the Parthians, but firſt he wanted to be King; and for this purpoſe a Prophecy was forged, that none but a King could conquer them. Was this impudent forgery too, and the deſign of it, for the glory of the people who were abuſed by it? In ſhort, he could have done nothing beneficial or glorious for the Roman people, but to have reſtored them to their ancient and ſubſtantial glory, that of their Liberty and Laws. This too would have been the higheſt glory of his own life, which, to thoſe who conſider things as they are, ſtripped of fooliſh fair names and diſguiſes, is, without this, all over black and infamous.

No man's life can be ſaid to be deteſtable, if his was not; ſeeing all the malefactors condemned ſince there were men and crimes, did not half the miſchief which he did. It was even currently believed (and what worſe could be believed of him than he had done?) that he meant to tranſlate the ſeat of Empire, with all its ſtrength, to Ilium, or to Alexandria; and having exhauſted all Italy by great levies, (that ſhe might never recover herſelf) he would have begun, probably, a new ſort of Sovereignty upon his own model, exempt from the names and appearances of the old Conſtitution and Laws, which ſtill had reverence paid them at Rome, and conſequently were ſo many grievances to him. Rome he intended to have left to the dominion of his creatures. It is probable he thought himſelf not ſafe at Rome, nor in any place which had ever known the governance of Laws, nor any where but at the head of Armies. He had reaſon for his fear; the ſevereſt oppreſſor can never tye the hands of all the oppreſſed, nor put chains upon their reſentments.

Sect. VIII. Of his Death; and the raſhneſs of aſcribing to divine Vengeance the fate of ſuch as ſlew him.

IN the midſt of his farther deſigns, whatever they were, a bloody doom overtook this man of blood, and he was lawfully ſlain, though not by the forms of Law [o]; his lawleſs power had made this impoſſible. It is true, they who ſlew him, were themſelves ſlain. The righteouſneſs of a cauſe does not always enſure its ſucceſs; too ſeldom, God knows; but they who periſh in defence of the Laws, are ſlain againſt Law. Such was the difference between his death and theirs. They were vanquiſhed and ſlain in a great Civil War, at a time when Courage, and Virtue, and Patriotiſm were capital and proſcribed.

Did none of thoſe who deſtroyed Cæſar die a natural death? no more did Cæſar, who deſtroyed the State. If this was not a judgment, upon him, why ſhould theirs be one upon them? What rule have we to know a judgment, but from the juſtice or iniquity of a cauſe? If ſo, Cæſar fell by the appointment of heaven; Brutus and his brethren by the malice of men. But if there be no rule, or if judgments, like parties, take different ſides; how dare we pronounce? How many of the Cæſars his ſucceſſors died naturally? Not one, if we will believe the Hiſtorians and probability, from Cæſar the Dictator to the Emperor Veſpaſian. Auguſtus was poiſoned by Livia his wife; Tiberius ſmothered by Macro his favourite, to make way for Caligula, who was ſlain with the ſword by the officers of his guard. Agrippina poiſoned her huſband Claudius;

[o] Abuſus dominatione & jure cæſus exiſtimaretur. (Sueton.)

Nero

Nero ſtabbed himſelf; Galba was murdered by the ſoldiers, ſo was Vitellius. Otho fell by his own hands.

DISCOURSE IV.

Upon OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, afterwards called AUGUSTUS.

Sect. I. Of the baſe and impious Arts by which he acquired the Empire.

BY the death of the Uſurper, Liberty was reſtored, but laſted not [a]; and Octavius ſucceeded Cæſar, by no ſuperior genius, by no military proweſs or magnanimity; for tricking and deceit conſtituted his chief parts, and though he was bold in council, he was a coward in the field. But he uſurped the Empire by methods ſo low and vile, as brought diſgrace even upon Uſurpation; by a thouſand frauds, and turns ſuddenly made, without the common appearances of decency or ſhame; by thouſands of murders deliberately committed, without proceſs or provocation; by multiplied treacheries, aſſaſſinations, and acts of ingratitude; by employing ruffians, and being himſelf one; and by deſtructive wars conducted by the bravery of others.

He levied forces without authority; and, under a lying pretence of defending Liberty, got to be employed by the State againſt Anthony. He then robbed the Commonwealth of her Armies; and was thought to have murdered both her chief Magiſtrates, the Conſuls Hirtius and Panſa; the former

[a] Libertate improſpere repetita.

by his own hand in the hurry of battle, the other after it, by cauſing poiſon to be poured into his wound by Glyco his Phyſician. It is certain, that the Phyſician was ſuſpected, ſeized, and even doomed to the torture, but ſaved by the credit of his maſter Octavius; whoſe villainy had theſe farther aggravations, that he was generally believed to have been a Pathic to Hirtius for hire; and Panſa had ever a tender regard for him, a regard ſuperior to that which he owed his Country, as he manifeſted by the advice which he gave him before he expired under agonies cauſed by the hardhearted contrivance of that his beloved and perfidious friend.

With this very Army of the Commonwealth he turned head upon the Commonwealth, marched in an hoſtile manner to Rome, and ſent a deputation of officers to his Maſters the Senate, to demand the Conſulſhip in the name of the Legions: And upon ſome heſitation ſhewn by that venerable Body, one of theſe armed Embaſſadors laid his hand upon his ſword, and told them, 'If you will not make him 'Conſul, this ſhall.' For his firſt credit with the Senate he was beholden to Cicero, at whoſe ſuit he was truſted with command in conjunction with the Conſuls, and dignified with the title of Proprætor. We ſee how he requited the Senate, we ſee how he ſerved the Conſuls; and Cicero his father in Counſel, and the father of the Republic, he delivered up to be murdered and mangled by his implacable enemy.

Sect. II. Of the vindictive ſpirit of Octavius, and his horrid Cruelties.

IN the Battle of Philippi, Octavius was beaten out of the field, his Camp ſeized, and, but for the fortune and valour of Anthony, the day muſt have been loſt. After the victory he ſhewed as much

much insolence and cruelty, as he had wanted courage in it. He could not forbear manifesting cowardly spite to the dead body of Brutus, before whom he had a little before fled for his life, and sent the head of that excellent person to Rome, to be laid ignominiously at the feet of the Statue of Cæsar. Different was the treatment shewn by Anthony, who had saved Octavius, and beat Brutus. Anthony beheld his Corpse with grief and tears, covered it with his own armour, and treated it with respect and tenderness. Octavius had not greatness of heart enough for such generous humanity; but treated every illustrious captive with bitter words and cowardly insults, and put them to death without mercy [b]; says Suetonius. To one of these, imploring the privilege of burial, the base Tyrant answered, 'That the fowls of the air would soon 'regulate that matter.' When a father begged mercy for his son, and the son for the father, the merciful Octavius commanded the father and son to fight for the survivorship. This barbarous fight he beheld, beheld the son slay his father, and then himself for having done it. Had not the remaining Prisoners reason, when they were brought before Anthony and him, to salute the former with the honourable title of *Imperator*, and the latter with invectives and contempt?

With the same cruel spirit he behaved himself after the siege of Perusia. All who applied to him, whether they pleaded innocence, or begged mercy, had one and the same mercileſs answer [c]; 'Death 'is the lot of you all;' and they had it. Three hundred of the chief, comprizing their Nobility and Magistrates, were carried in chains to an Altar raised to Julius Cæsar, and there butchered like cattle, as

[b] In splendidissimum quemque captivorum non sine verborum contumelio sæviit.

[c] Moriendum esse.

victims to his ghoſt, upon the Ides of March, the Anniverſary of his Aſſaſſination. The City itſelf he delivered to the luſt and plunder of his ſoldiers, contrary to articles, and his faith given. Never was a more tragical and horrible ſcene. After killing, robbing and raviſhing, what the ſword could not deſtroy, the fire did; and that great and beautiful City, one of the faireſt in Italy, was reduced to aſhes. There were Hiſtorians, who aſſerted, that the quarrel between him and Lucius Antonius, who had ſhut himſelf up in that City, was all feigned, and a contrivanee between them, for two reaſons; firſt, to try who were real friends, and who were covered enemies; and then, by the conqueſt and confiſcation of ſuch, to find a fund for paying the Veterans their promiſed largeſs.

From the citizens of Nurſia he took all that they had, their ſubſtance and even their city, and ſent them forth to wander and ſtarve; for no other crime but that, for their fellow citizens, ſlain at the ſiege of Modena, they had raiſed a Monument with an Inſcription, 'that they died for the public liberty;' though he had but juſt before fought and declared for the ſame ſide.

It is impoſſible to paint the horrors of the Proſcription; by it every conſiderable man in the Roman world, who was diſliked, or ſuſpected by the Triumvirate to diſapprove their Tyranny, was doomed to die; it was death to conceal or to help them, and rewards were given to ſuch as diſcovered and killed them. Many were betrayed and butchered by their ſlaves and freedmen; many by their treacherous hoſts and relations; and many fled with their wives and tender children to the howling wilderneſs, and lived or periſhed amongſt woods and wolves. Nothing was to be ſeen but blood and ſlaughter; the ſtreets were covered with carcaſſes; the heads of the illuſtrious dead were expoſed upon

the Roſtra, and their bodies upon the pavement, denied the mercy of burial, other than ſuch as they found in the entrails of devouring dogs and ravenous birds. This looked like dooming Rome to periſh at once; and when the other two were ſatiated with ſo many butcheries, Octavius, who never had blood enough, ſtill perſiſted to ſhed more. No ſort of men eſcape his cruelty, nor Nobles, nor Knights, ſtrangers nor acquaintance, nay, nor his confidents, and favourite freedmen; nor even his old companion and tutor, Toranius, no one knows why, unleſs for being an honeſt man, and a lover of his Country.

Theſe victims continued daily for a courſe of years; the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, the vileſt forgeries, were grounds for ſlaughters, for illuſtrious ſlaughters. Nor could the great quality and venerable ſtation of Quintus Gellius the Prætor, nor his innocence, exempt him from the bloody hands of the executioner; nor was execution the worſt part of his doom; he was by a band of ſoldiers ſeized in his ſeat of juſtice, hurried away and ſubjected to the torture, like the meaneſt ſlave; but confeſſed nothing. Nor did all this injuſtice and barbarity ſatisfy the gentle Auguſtus, ſo much renowned for moderation and clemency; he had the brutal baſeneſs to dig out the eyes of that Magiſtrate with his own hands, before he allowed him the mercy of being murdered outright. One of his favourite Miniſters ſhewed his ſentiments of the clemency of Auguſtus plainly enough, upon the following occaſion. That Prince was judging ſome criminals, and giving himſelf over to revenge, and bloody decrees, without check or compaſſion, when the Miniſter, who abhorred to ſee him engaged in ſuch feats of cruelty, ſent him a note, told him, 'he was a butcher,' and bad him, 'come down from his Tribunal.'

Sect.

Sect. III. Of the treachery, ingratitude, and further cruelties of Octavius. That the ſame were wanton and voluntary.

THE conduct of Octavius in regard to Anthony, was, like the reſt of his conduct, all one train of perfidiouſneſs. Firſt he made court to Anthony, then ſuborned rogues to murder him; then made war upon him with the arms of the State; then joined with him againſt the State; then by the bravery of Anthony he conquered the Empire, and then by plots, and the valour of Agrippa, he conquered Anthony; then he was deviſing ways to deſtroy Agrippa, and, but for an expedient offered by Mæcenas, had deſtroyed him.

Was it ſtrange that againſt ſuch a Prince conſpiracies were frequent? As he was an Uſurper he could not eſcape ſome; his falſhood and cruelties begot others; and, from conſiderations public as well as perſonal, there was abundant cauſe for many. To puniſh one plot with exceeding violence, is a ſure way to produce more; and, when there is no ſafety found in innocence, further methods will be tried.

It is a poor defence for Auguſtus, to ſay, that it was from neceſſity, and to ſerve himſelf, that he ſhed ſo much blood; for, beſides that his cruelty was natural, wanton and unneceſſary, why did he ſeek to be in a ſtation where acts of blood were neceſſary? why did he uſurp the ſtate? why did he make himſelf a mark for public and private vengeance? was it not by ambition, was it not by treachery, that he aſſumed Sovereignty? was he not a public Traitor? and was it not his choice to be ſo? why did he wilfully commit crimes ſo flagitious, that in their defence he muſt commit more? Can one horrible iniquity efface another? Is a ſubject juſtified, who,

becauſe

becauſe he has deſerved the pains of treaſon, raiſes a rebellion againſt his Prince, nay, kills him, to be ſafe? No villainy ever was, or ever can be perpetrated, which ſuch reaſoning will not juſtify.

When ſome were bold and honeſt enough to talk to Oliver Cromwel about his exceſſes and uſurpation, he aſked them, What would you have one in my ſtation do? He was well anſwered: *Sir, We would have no body in your ſtation.* To vindicate murder from the neceſſity of committing it, in order to conceal robbery; is to argue like a murderer and a robber; but it is honeſt Logic, to reply; 'Do not rob, and then you need not be tempted 'to murder; but if you will do one, and conſe-'quently both, remember that puniſhment does or 'ought to follow crimes, and the more crimes the 'more puniſhment. If, by a repetition of crimes, 'you become too mighty to be puniſhed, you muſt 'be content to be accurſed and abhorred as an ene-'my to human race; you muſt expect to have all 'men for your enemies, as you are an enemy to 'all men; and ſince you make ſport of the lives 'and liberties of men, you muſt not wonder, nor 'have you a right to complain, if they have all of 'them memories and feeling, and ſome of them 'courage and ſwords.'

Sect. IV. Of the popular Arts and Accidents which raiſed the Character of Augustus.

MANY things concurred to favour the fame of Auguſtus, and to obliterate his reproach. He reigned very long, and eſtabliſhed a laſting peace; a ſpecial bleſſing and refreſhment after a Civil War ſo long and ruinous [d]. For, though that war was

[d] Cuncta diſcordiis civilibus feſſa, ſub imperium accepit.

the

the child of his ambition, yet, in a ſeries of enſuing tranquillity, it was forgot. Nay, the greatneſs of the public calamities was a reaſon for forgetting them; the generation who felt them, were almoſt all cut off by them; and the next generation, which had not ſuffered, did not remember [e]: what the people had not ſeen, they did not lament. When he died there were ſcarce any living who had beheld the old free State [f]. The people too were deceived into a belief that they ſtill enjoyed their old Government, becauſe their Magiſtrates had ſtill their old names, though with juſt as much power as he thought fit to leave them. This was the advice of Mæcenas, that to the Officers of the State, the ſame names, pomp and ornaments ſhould be continued, with all the appearances of authority without power [g]. They were to have no military command during their term, but to poſſeſs the old juriſdiction of adjudging all cauſes finally, except ſuch as were capital; and though ſome of theſe laſt were left to the Governor of Rome, an Officer newly created by the Emperor, yet the chief were reſerved.

Moreover Auguſtus paid great court to the people: the very Name that covered his Uſurpation was a compliment to them: he affected to call it the Power of the Tribuneſhip, an Office firſt created purely for their protection, and as the ſtrongeſt effort and barrier of popular Liberty. It was for their ſake and ſecurity, he pretended to aſſume this power, though by it he acted as abſolutely as if he had called it the Dictatorial power; ſuch energy there is in words! The Office itſelf was erected as a

[e] Juniores poſt Actiacam victoriam, etiam ſenes plerique inter bella civium nati.

[f] Quotuſquiſque reliquus qui Rempublicam vidiſſet?

[g] Eadem magiſtratuum vocabula: ſua conſulibus, ſua prætoribus ſpecies.

bulwark

bulwark againſt Tyranny; and by the name of it Tyranny is now ſupported. In the ſame manner he uſed and perverted the Conſulſhip; another Magiſtracy peculiar to the Commonwealth, but by him abuſed to the ends of his Monarchy.

He likewiſe won the hearts of the people by filling their bellies, by cheapneſs of proviſions, and plentiful markets. This has infinite effect. If people have plenty at home, they will not be apt to diſcover many errors or much iniquity in the public, which will always be at quiet when particulars are ſo. But famine, or the fear of it, children crying for bread, mothers weeping for their children, and huſbands and fathers unable to ſtop their tears, and find the neceſſaries of life for themſelves, and ſuch dear relations; all theſe are terrible materials for tumults, ſedition, and even for revolutions. But people in eaſe and plenty are under no temptation to be inquiring into the title of their Prince, or to reſent acts of power which they do not immediately feel.

He frequently entertained them with Shews and Spectacles; a notable means to produce or continue good humour in the populace, to beget kind wiſhes and zeal for the author of ſo much joy, and to make them forget Uſurpation, Slavery, and every public evil. Theſe were indeed uſed for the ends of corruption and ſervitude; they rendred the people idle, venal, vicious, inſenſible of private virtue, inſenſible of public glory or diſgrace; but the things were liked, and the ends not ſeen, or not minded, ſo that they had their thorough effect; and the Roman people, they who were wont to direct mighty wars, to raiſe and depoſe great Kings, to beſtow or take away Empires, they who ruled the world, or directed its rule, were ſo ſunk and debauched, that if they had but bread and ſhews, their ambition went no higher.

By

By the ſame arts Cardinal Mazarin began to ſoften and debaſe the minds of the French; and after his death the like methods for promoting of idleneſs and luxury were purſued; ſhews, debauchery, wantonneſs and riot were encouraged and became common; and after the Reſtoration, England adopted the modes of France, her worſt modes. There were ſome, too many, who, unworthy of their own happineſs and Liberty, came to admire her Government and misfortune; and laboured, with the ſpirit of Parricides, though without their puniſhment, to bring ours to the model of that.

I cannot omit obſerving here, that by the ſame means that Cæſar and Auguſtus acquired the Empire, they deſtroyed its force. In the Civil Wars great part of the people periſhed, and the reſt they debauched. They had utterly drained or corrupted that ſource of men which furniſhed ſoldiers who conquered the earth; henceforth the *plebs ingenua* became a mere mob, addicted to idleneſs and their bellies, void of courage, void of ambition, and careleſs of renown. Armies were with difficulty raiſed amongſt them; when raiſed, not good, or apt to corrupt the reſt. It was ſuch who excited the ſedition in the German Legions, after the death of Auguſtus [h]: 'the recruits lately raiſed in Rome, 'men accuſtomed to the ſoftneſs and gaieties of the 'City, and impatient of military labour and diſ-'cipline, inflamed the ſimple minds of all the reſt 'by ſeditious infuſions, and harangues, &c.' Indeed the Roman Armies (ſo chiefly in name) were moſtly compoſed of foreigners.

To engage new creatures and dependencies, he created many new Offices; as the multitude of Of-

[h] Vernacula multitudo, nuper acto in urbe delectu, laſciviæ ſueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos; veniſſe tempus, &c. An. 1. C. 31.

fices

fices in France is reckoned a great ſupport of the Authority Royal. He raiſed many public buildings, repaired many old, and to the City added many edifices and ornaments. He attended buſineſs, reformed enormities, ſhewed high regard for the Roman name; was ſparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of Citizens; preſerved public peace; procured public abundance, promoted public pleaſure and feſtivity; often appeared in perſon at the public diverſions, and in all things ſtudied to render himſelf dear to the populace. In truth, when he had done all the miſchief he could, or all that he wanted, and more, he ceaſed his cruelty and ravages. This too was imputed to him for merit. He was reckoned very good, becauſe he began to do leſs miſchief. It was a rational ſaying of that madman Caligula, 'that calamitous and tragical 'to the Roman people were the boaſted Victories 'of his great grandfather Auguſtus;' and therefore he forbad them to be ſolemnized annually for the future.

Sect. V. Though AUGUSTUS courted the people, and particular Senators, he continued to depreſs public Liberty, and the Senate.

BUT, amidſt all theſe acts of popularity and beneficence, and this plauſible behaviour of Auguſtus, the root of the evil remained and ſpread; the bulwarks of Liberty were daily broken down, and having lulled the public aſleep, he was ſowing his tares. The beſt of his Government was but the ſunſhine of Tyranny [k]. Auguſtus was become

[k] Ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine pacis pellexit, inſurgere paulatim, munia Senatus, Magiſtratuum, Legum, in ſe trahere.

the

the centre and meaſure of all things; he was the Senate, Magiſtracy and Laws; the arms of the Republic he had wreſted out of her hands; thoſe who had wielded them for her, he had ſlain [l]. The armies of the State were now the armies of Auguſtus, and every Province where Legions were kept or neceſſary, he reſerved to himſelf; ſuch as were unarmed he left to the Senate and people; in kindneſs forſooth to them; for he ſtudied to relieve them from all anxiety and fatigue, and to leave them nothing to do; but would take all the care and trouble to himſelf. Italy, the original ſoil of Liberty and Freemen, he utterly diſarmed, agreeably to the Maxims of abſolute Monarchy. The Roman people and the Roman Senate he had reduced to cyphers and carcaſſes [m]. Hence all the ſubmiſſion and duty formerly paid to the free State, were, with her power, transferred to the Emperor, and certain wealth and preferment were the rewards of ready ſervility and acquieſcence [n].

This ſhews that, however he depreſſed the power of the Senate, he paid great court to particular Senators; and it is too true, that as men generally love themſelves better than their Country, they too eaſily poſtpone the public intereſt to their own.

Sect. VI. What Fame he derived from the Poets and other flattering Writers of his time.

THE Renown of Auguſtus was alſo notably blazoned by the Hiſtorians and Poets of his time; men of excellent wit, but egregious flatterers.

[l] Bruto & Caſſio cæſis, nulla jam publica arma.

[m] Patres & plebem, invalida & inermia.

[n] Quanto quis ſervitio promptior, opibus & honoribus extollerentur.

Accord-

According to them, Auguſtus had all the accompliſhments to be acquired by men, the magnanimity of Heroes, the perfections and genius of the Deity, and the innocence peculiar to the primitive race of men °. After ſo many inſtances of his cruelty, revenge, ſelfiſhneſs, exceſſive ſuperſtition, and defect in courage; after all the crying calamities and afflictions, all the oppreſſion and vaſſalage, that his ambition had brought upon his Country and the globe, one would think that ſuch praiſes muſt have paſſed for ſatire and mockery. But ambition, ſucceſsful ambition, is a credulous paſſion; or whether he believed ſuch praiſes or no, he received them graciouſly, and careſſed the Authors. Hence ſo much favour to Virgil and Horace, and to ſuch other wits as knew how to be good Courtiers; and hence every admirer of thoſe charming Poets, is an admirer of Auguſtus, who was ſo generous to them, and is the chief burden of their Panegyrics.

Suppoſe he had miſcarried; ſuppoſe the Commonwealth reſtored, and him puniſhed as a Traitor inſtead of gaining the Sovereignty; would not the Hiſtorians, would not the Poets have then ſpoke as the Law ſpoke, that Law by which he had certainly forfeited his life? would not Brutus and Caſſius have then filled their mouths with Panegyrics, as the Saviours of the State? would they have lamented that the Uſurpation failed, and extolled the Uſurper? Is Catiline extolled, or are the Uſurpations of Cinna, Sylla, or Marius? nor was the conduct and domination of either, half ſo barbarous and tragical as was that of Auguſtus for a courſe of years. The truth is, their Tyranny was ſhort-lived, unſucceſsful, or reſigned.

Iniquity unproſperous or puniſhed, no man praiſes; but wickedneſs exceeding great and triumphant, al-

° ——Nihil eſt quod credere de ſe
Non poſſit cum laudatur Diis æqua poteſtas.

moſt

moſt all men do, as well as decry virtuous attempts defeated. Cæſar and Auguſtus ſucceeded; and their flattery continued, becauſe their government and race did; [p] Sycophancy is ever a conſtant attendant upon greatneſs, ſays Paterculus, who was himſelf a ſcandalous flatterer, and has in his Hiſtory, miſerably perverted truth, or utterly ſuppreſſed it, that he might lye for the Cæſars. When Truth was treaſon, who would venture to ſpeak it? and when Flattery bore a vogue and a price, there were enough found to court it, and take it. Hence the partiality or ſilence of Poets and Hiſtorians [q].

Sect. VII. Of the falſe Glory ſought and acquired by AUGUSTUS, from the badneſs of his Succeſſors.

ANOTHER ſignal advantage to the name and memory of Auguſtus, was the badneſs of his Succeſſors; and for his poſthumous luſtre he was indebted to the extreme miſery of the Roman people. In proportion as Tiberius, Caligula, &c. were deteſted, Auguſtus was regretted; yet who but Auguſtus was to be thanked for theſe monſters of cruelty? They were legacies by him entailed upon that great State, and he was even ſuſpected to have ſurrendered the Roman people to the Tyranny of Tiberius, purely to enhance his own praiſe with poſterity, by the compariſon and oppoſition of their Reigns [r]. He ſought renown from a counſel for which he deſerved abhorrence. He had made a feint or two to abdicate the Sovereignty; had he been in earneſt, he might at leaſt have contrived, that his Uſurpation ſhould laſt no longer than his life, and have left for a legacy to the Roman people

[p] Semper magnæ fortunæ comes adeſt adulatio.
[q] Gliſcente adulatione deterrerentur.
[r] Comparatione deterrima ſibi gloriam quæſiviſſe.

that Liberty of which he had robbed them; that dominion over themſelves, which none but themſelves had any right to exerciſe. The truth is, his power and name were dearer to him than the Roman people or human race; he made proviſion by a long train of ſucceſſors againſt any poſſible relapſe into Liberty [s]. When he had no longer any heir of his own blood, or none that he liked, he adopted the ſons of his wife; and even the worſt of them was deſtined to the ſucceſſion [t].

If it be ſaid that by ſuch adoption he fortified himſelf, and conſidered heirs as [u] the ſtays and ſecurity of his domination; this ſtill ſhews what was uppermoſt in his views, that he meant to perpetuate ſlavery. If he had ſtudied the good of Rome, why was not Tiberius, whom he knew to be tyrannical and arrogant, poſtponed? why was not his brother Druſus, the moſt accompliſhed and popular man in the Empire, preferred? or (after his death) Germanicus his ſon, one equally deſerving, and equally beloved? It is even ſaid that he loved Druſus, loved Germanicus, and was ſuſpected to have hated and deſpiſed Tiberius; yet Tiberius was preferred, and had the world bequeathed to him. Was it done to pleaſe his wife? then he loved her better than the Roman people, nay, preferred her caprice to the felicity of human kind. Druſus had declared his purpoſe to reſtore the Commonwealth; the ſame intention is ſuppoſed to have been in Germanicus. This perhaps was the reaſon for ſetting them aſide [w]; as was ſaid of Tiberius.

[s] Proviſis etiam hæredum in Rempublicam opibus.
[t] Ne ſucceſſor in incerto foret.
[u] Subſidia dominationis.
[w] Quippe illi non perinde curæ gratia preſentium, quam in poſteros ambitio.

Sect.

Sect. VIII. The Character of Augustus.

AS to the Character of Auguſtus, he was a man of Senſe and Art; his courage below his capacity, his capacity below his fortune, yet his fortune below his fame; becauſe his fame was the child of able flattery as well as of propitious fortune. He was a cunning man, not a great genius; dextrous to apply the abilities of others to his own ends, and had ability enough to be counſelled by ſuch as had more; his deſigns were rather incidental and progreſſive, than vaſt and conceived at once; and he cannot be ſaid to have maſtered fortune, but to have been led by it. In the times of the Republic he would have made but a middling figure; in the ſtation and purſuits of Julius Cæſar, none at all. It is not in the leaſt likely that he would have thought or attempted what Cæſar accompliſhed. He wanted Cæſar's maſterly ſpirit, the eclat of that conſummate Warrior, his boundleſs Liberality, his enchanting Eloquence. For the eloquence of Auguſtus, which was eaſy and flowing, ſuch as became a Prince, was quite different from that torrent of Language, and power of ſpeaking neceſſary to agitate and controul the ſpirit of Republicans, and came far ſhort of the talent of Julius, who ſtood in rank with the moſt diſtinguiſhed Orators. I know not whether the vices of the Dictator had not more popular charms than the virtues of Auguſtus. Cæſar made his way to the Throne, Auguſtus found it already made, or, where difficulties occurred, was conducted by the ſuperior lights and force of others, whom he rewarded with all the meanneſs of ingratitude, and even cruelty, and did many things which the great heart of Cæſar would have ſcorned. No great mind ever delighted in petty

petty miſchiefs; though to do mighty evil an elevated genius is not always neceſſary.

Sect. IX. Of the Helps and Cauſes which acquired and preſerved the Empire to Augustus. His great Power and Fortune no proof of extraordinary Ability.

THAT Auguſtus acquired the Empire, is not a proof of talents grand and ſurprizing; a thouſand things concurred to it, times and accidents, friends and enemies, the living and the dead, fought and contrived for him; Cæſar, Anthony, the authority of the Senate, the folly and corruption of the people, the eloquence and abilities of Cicero, ſeaſonable conjunctures, the oppoſition of ſome, the compliance or intoxication of others, nay, the charms of Cleopatra, and his own treachery and fears: All theſe coincided to puſh him forwards, and to hoiſt him into Sovereignty; nor indeed wanted he dexterity to improve opportunities; for he was a notable man, judged well, and had a turn for buſineſs.

Nor did it require much genius to hold the Empire, when he had got it. All who could oppoſe him were ſlain or ſubdued. He had Armies and Guards; and the people were diſarmed and enſlaved; the State was ſo thoroughly maſtered, the Roman ſpirit ſo entirely broken [x], that any the moſt contemptible wretch among men, provided he were but vouched by the Armies, and called Cæſar, might rule, inſult, and lay waſte the Roman world at his pleaſure [y]. What was Caligula, what were Nero and Claudius? were they not monſters, who but

[x] Verſo civitatis ſtatu, nihil uſquam priſci & integri moris.

[y] Omnis exuta æqualitate juſſa principis aſpectare.

for ſhape and ſpeech, were utterly disjoined from humanity? and yet were not theſe monſters ſuffered, nay adored, and deified, while they were wallowing in the blood of men, and making ſpoil of the creation? Nor were the ſavages cut off by any effort of the Roman people, but by the inſtruments of their own cruelty, their wives, ſoldiers and ſlaves.

Thus it was poſſible to be Maſters of mankind, not only without common ſenſe, and common mercy and compaſſion, but even armed with intenſe and ſettled hate againſt the race of men, and daily exerting it. The rule and havock of a Lion, or any other beaſt of prey, would have been leſs pernicious, and leſs diſgraceful to the Roman people, though he had required for his ſuſtenance a veſſel of human blood every day. Nay, had the imperial Lion kept about him a Court and Guard of ſubordinate Lions for his Inſtruments and Counſellors, they could not have worried and devoured faſter than did the Accuſers, Freedmen, Poiſoners, and Aſſaſſins of the Emperors. Cruelty, inſpired by hunger, ceaſes when hunger is aſſwaged; but cruelty, created by fear and malice, is never ſatiated, nor knows any bounds. So much leſs dangerous and pernicious are the jaws and rapaciouſneſs of a Tyger, than the jealouſy and rage of a Tyrant, his flatterers and executioners.

Now where was the difficulty to Auguſtus, where the neceſſity of high wiſdom, to maintain the Sovereignty, when ſuch deſpicable wretches could maintain themſelves in it for a courſe of years? The Romans, who were maſters of mankind, were become the tame property, the vaſſals and victims of creatures equal to no office in a State, even the meaneſt and moſt contemptible office; creatures void of underſtanding, void of courage. Such, without aggravation, were the Lords of Rome for ſeveral ſucceſſive reigns. Such as were a ſcandal to human Nature, trod upon the necks and wantoned in

in the blood of human kind; nay, delegated this work, and the diſpoſal of the Romans life and property, to the vileſt of their domeſtics and dependants, their ſpies, informers, and bond-ſlaves.

DISCOURSE V.

Of Governments free and arbitrary, more eſpecially that of the CÆSARS.

Sect. I. The Principle of God's appointing and protecting Tyrants, an Abſurdity not believed by the Romans.

I Do not find that a ſervitude ſo beaſtly and ignominious was borne by the Romans out of Principle. Their Religion, as vain and ſuperſtitious as it was, had never offered ſuch an inſult to common ſenſe, as to teach them that their Deities, as capricious as they thought them, warranted Tyranny, and ſanctified Tyrants; that the brutal and bloody Caligula, was the beloved and Vicegerent of Jove, almighty, all-wiſe and all-merciful; that the worſt of men had a commiſſion from Heaven to oppreſs all men, and to deſtroy the beſt; that murder, rapine and mis-rule were Government, and ſuch lawleſs and bloody robbers were Governors divinely appointed; that Society had no remedy againſt devouring luſt, and the raging ſword, which were deſtroying all the ends of Society, and Society itſelf. Theſe are Abſurdities below Paganiſm and all its chimeras; even the Superſtition of Pagans never broached ſuch blaſphemies and indignities to God and Man; never propagated Doctrines which would have turned men into idiots, deſtitute of re-

flection and feeling, nay, into beaſts of burden, and beaſts for ſacrifice; turned the Deities into Devils; human ſociety into a chaos of blood and carcaſſes, and this earth into a place of torments. It never entered into the heart of a Greek or a Roman, nor into any heart which felt the ſentiments of virtue and humanity, that it was unlawful to defend Law; a crime to ward againſt murder, barbarity, and deſolation; and an impiety to do the moſt godlike action which can be done on this ſide Heaven, that of diſarming a Tyrant, and ſaving one's Country from periſhing. It is true, that the Romans flattered their Tyrants, as Tyrants ever will be flattered; but as the names and appearances of the old Government ſtill ſubſiſted, they pretended to believe that none but the old Laws were exerciſed; and by the old Laws the Emperors ſtill pretended to act. For ſeveral generations after the State was enſlaved, and even during the Reigns of the worſt of the Cæſars, the Romans expreſſed high contempt for Nations who were avowedly ſlaves, and for Kings who were avowedly arbitrary; and it then continued uſual to behold foreign Monarchs attending the levee and train of the Roman Magiſtrates and Governors of Provinces; nay, they were ſometimes denied acceſs, and treated with great ſcorn.

Government is doubtleſs a ſacred thing, and juſtly claims all reverence and duty; but in the idea of Government is implied that of public Protection and Security; that it is the terror of evil doers, and the encouragement of ſuch as do well. But when what was Government ceaſes; and what is called Government, is, in reality, general oppreſſion, havock, and ſpoil; when a power prevails which is ſwayed by evil doers to the deſtruction of all who do well; when law and righteouſneſs are baniſhed, luſt and iniquity triumph; property is violently invaded,

vaded, and lives are wantonly deſtroyed; is this Government too? If it be, I ſhould be glad to know what is not Government.

Sect. II. The reaſonableneſs of reſiſting Tyrants aſſerted, from the Ends of Government, and the Nature of the Deity. Opinions the moſt impious and extravagant, why taught, and how eaſily ſwallowed.

IT is certainly unlawful to reſiſt Government; but it is certainly lawful to reſiſt the deviation from Government, to reſiſt what deſtroys Government and men. To reſiſt the abuſe of Government, is to aſſiſt Government. It is allowed to be juſt to help our protectors; but it is equally juſt to oppoſe our enemies, madmen and ſpoilers. Now what was Nero, what Caligula and Claudius? one a bloody idiot, the other an inhuman madman; the firſt like the ſecond, and all of them public robbers and butchers. If their courſe of cruelties and oppreſſion was Government, ſo are plagues, tempeſts and inundations; but if their lives and actions were altogether pernicious and deteſtable; the exterminating of ſuch monſters from amongſt men, would have been a ſervice to the whole race. Was Tarquin half ſo black and odious? yet who has ever blamed his expulſion? was the Inſolence and Tyranny of Tarquin the Ordinance of God? what then was the ſucceeding Government of the People and Senate? if this was the Ordinance of God too; then every Government good and bad, or rather Miſ-government as well as Government, public robbery and ruin, as well as public ſecurity and protection, may be equally ſaid to be his Ordinance; and there are Ordinances of his that combat one another, like the two Angels contending in one of

the Prophets. But if the Tyranny of Tarquin was, and the eſtabliſhing of the free State was not the Ordinance of God, then are not the Patrons of this opinion obliged to ſay, and to maintain this groſs and blaſphemous abſurdity, that the divine Being diſapproves of good Government, Equity and Laws, and delights in injuſtice, cruelty and confuſion; not in the rule of equal juſtice, but in the ravages of luſt and iniquity?

To ſay that all Governments, the good and the bad, are alike to him, equally inviolable, is to ſay that he takes no cognizance of things below; and at this rate, there is, in his ſight, no ſuch thing as guilt and innocence. To alledge that that Government which is beſt for men, is diſliked by him; and the rule of luſt is preferable to that of Laws; is to make him worſe than indifferent, the patron of wantonneſs and oppreſſion; a foe to order and benevolence, fonder of one man's caprice and violence, than of the happineſs of millions; nay, a profeſſed advocate for iniquity, a profeſſed adverſary to all public righteouſneſs. If it be ſaid, that he approves not of Tyranny himſelf, and yet would not have it reſiſted by others; this is nonſenſe added to prophaneneſs; ſince what he neither checks nor allows to be checked, he may be ſaid to approve. If I ſee a man going to commit murder, and by terrible threatning and penalties reſtrain ſuch as would reſtrain him, will it not be conſtrued, that I choſe to have the murder perpetrated? It makes him beſides a hard-hearted being, who forbids to remedy the higheſt human evil, nay, wilfully dooms human kind to the ſevereſt miſery.

I never heard that he has forbid under any penalty the uſe of Medicines againſt the Plague, and I think I have found the reaſon why I never heard it; the Plague has no treaſures, nor dignities to recompence flatterers. Had it been worth while to

have

have made such prohibition a Doctrine of Religion; that is, had it been pleasing to Power, and the way to favour, I doubt not but it would have gained ground, and many followers, as other doctrines equally absurd have done, where the gain and craft of a few have been followed and defended by the superstition and zeal of many; witness Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Auricular Confession, blind Obedience under the rod of Tyranny, &c. The Turks out of bigotry to that of Predestination, forbear all precautions against the Plague, when raging on every side of them. It is impossible to invent a Doctrine so monstrous and mischievous, but it will meet with partizans and admirers, provided the inventors have convenient names and habiliments, without which the most illustrious and benevolent truths will hardly pass with a multitude bewitched with the magic of words and superstition.

It is impossible for the hearts of men to contrive a principle more absurd and wicked, than that of annexing divine and everlasting vengeance to the resisting of the most flagrant mischief which can possibly befal the sons of men; yet it has found inventors and vouchers. It is plain from this instance, and from a thousand more, that there is no wickedness of which the hearts of men are not capable, and that the wretchedness of the whole race weighs not so much with them as their own profit and pleasure. It would seem from hence, as if we had lived in the dregs and barbarism of time, since to the late age (at least here in Christendom) was reserved the infamy of hatching a Monster so horrible, that to its birth was sacrificed all Sense and Humanity, all the considerations, and even the essence of Truth, Order and Liberty.

The advocates for this impious tenet, which represents the great and good God as incensed with men for striving to remove their chains and sorrows,

are, by defending Tyranny, ſo much worſe than Tyrants, as a Scheme of Barbarity coolly and deliberately contrived or defended, is more heinous than particular acts of barbarity committed in the heat and hurry of paſſion, and as Murder is a greater crime than Manſlaughter.

What avail Laws and Liberty, ever ſo excellently framed, when they are at the mercy of lawleſs rage and caprice? If we are forbid by God to defend Laws, why do we make them? Is it not unlawful to make what it is unlawful to defend? What elſe is the end of Government, but the felicity of men; and why are ſome raiſed higher in Society than others, but that all may be happy? Has God ever interpoſed againſt the eſtabliſhment of Society upon a good foot? If he has not, but wills the good of Society, and of men, how comes he to interpoſe againſt the defence of an Eſtabliſhment which he no where forbids, and againſt that good which he is ſaid to will? What more right had Nero to take away the lives of innocent men than any other Aſſaſſin; what more title to their fortune than any other Robber; what better right to ſpill their blood than any Tyger? And is it unlawful to reſiſt Robbers, and Aſſaſſins, and Beaſts of Prey? Did the Almighty ever ſay of that beaſtly Tyrant, 'Touch not Nero my Anointed, nor do 'his Ruffians any harm?' Did Nero's ſtation leſſen or abrogate his crimes?

What idea does it give of God, the Father of mercies and of men, to repreſent him ſcreening that enemy to God and man, as a perſon ſacred and inviolable, and holding his authority from himſelf; the merciful and holy Jehovah protecting an inhuman Deſtroyer! What more relation could there be between God and Nero, than between God and an Earthquake, God and a Conflagration or Maſſacre? The very phraſe is ſhocking to the ſoul! Is

ſuch

ſuch repreſentation likely to make the name and nature of God amiable to men, likely to excite them to love and reverence him? Satan is ſaid to be delighted with the miſeries and calamities of men; and, to ſuppoſe that wicked Being concerned for the ſecurity of a Tyrant, whoſe office it is to debaſe and afflict human race, is natural and conſiſtent with his Character. But I wiſh men would not father upon the Author of all good ſuch counſels and inclinations, as can only ſuit the father of cruelties and lies.

Sect. III. The danger of ſlaviſh Principles to ſuch as truſt in them, and the notorious inſecurity of lawleſs Might.

NEITHER have Tyrants and Oppreſſors been much obliged to this enſlaving Doctrine, which has generally filled them with falſe confidence and ſecurity; it has always made them worſe, ſeldom ſafer; and, without doing any good, been the cauſe of much evil to their poor ſubjects. The Turks hold it as an Article of Faith, and it is one worthy of Turkiſh groſsneſs and barbarity! yet where has the depoſing and murdering of Princes been ſo common as in Turkey? The Monarch is told he may do what he pleaſes; their Religion tells him ſo, the holy Mufti, who explains it, tells him ſo, and from God he tells him ſo; but notwithſtanding all theſe holy Authorities, this perſon ſo ſacred, and guarded with ſecurities human and divine, is often butchered with leſs form than a common malefactor, and even with the Mufti's conſent and aſſiſtance. Thus it has happened to ſeveral in a Century; had not their power been ſo great, their ſecurity would have been greater.

[a] An abſolute Prince is of all others the moſt inſecure; as he proceeds by no rule of Law, he can have no rule of Safety. He acts by violence, and violence is the only remedy againſt him. Now violence which is confined to no rule, but as various and unlimited as the paſſions and devices of men, can never be parried by any certain proviſion or defence. His acts of cruelty upon particulars, whether done for revenge or prevention, do but alarm other particulars to ſave themſelves by deſtroying him. Men who apprehend their lives to be in danger, will venture any thing to preſerve them; or if they do more than apprehend and be already become deſperate, we know to what lengths deſpair will puſh them. Thus Caligula, thus Domitian and Commodus, were ſlaughtered by thoſe whom they had doomed to ſlaughter. Nor Armies nor Guards can prevent the machinations and efforts of a ſecret enemy; even amongſt his Armies and Guards ſuch a one may be found, nay, in his Houſhold, in his Bed-chamber, amongſt his Kindred, nay, amongſt his Children.

When Princes act by Law, in caſe of hardſhip upon particulars, there is a remedy to be ſought from the Law; and when the Law fairly adminiſtered will afford none, they will acquieſce; or, if they blame any thing, they will blame the Law, but a remedy they will be apt to ſeek; and, when they ſuffer not from Law, but from mere violence, they will have recourſe to violence. Neither can a people be ever ſo ſunk or deadened by Oppreſſion, but much provocation, ſome management and a ſkilful leader, will find or raiſe ſome ſpirit in them, often enough to accompliſh great Revolutions; witneſs Sicily under the French, Swiſſerland under the Yoke of Auſtria, and the Low Countries under

[a] Nunquam ſatis fida potentia, ubi nimia.

that

that of Spain; nay, the moſt conſummate and profeſſed ſlaves, thoſe of Turky, often rouſe themſelves, and caſting their proud rider to the earth, trample him to death.

Indeed ſlaves enraged are the moſt dangerous populace; becauſe having no other reſource againſt oppreſſion, they repel violence with outrage; a little ſpark often raiſes a great flame; and a flame ſoon ſpreads to a Conflagration, where materials are prepared, as they almoſt eternally are in Governments that are abſolute or aiming to be ſo. The Commotions at Paris, during the Minority of the late King, were followed by others all over France, though the whole Kingdom had been for a great while before, by the Tyranny of the Adminiſtration, frightened, deſpairing, and even lethargic; but the reſentment and convulſions that followed this falſe calm, had like to have overſet the Monarchy. Nor can any public calm be certain, or any Government ſecure, where the people are pillaged and oppreſſed. People that are uſed like beaſts, will act like beaſts; and be mad and furious, when buffeted and ſtarved.

Sect. IV. Princes of little and bad Minds, moſt greedy of Power. Princes of large and good Minds chuſe to rule by Law and Limitations.

IT is poor and contemptible ambition in a Prince, that of ſwelling his Prerogative, and catching at advantages over his People; it is ſeparating himſelf from the tender relation of a Father and Protector, a Character which conſtitutes the Glory of a King; and aſſuming that of a foe, and an enſnarer [b]. This is what a Prince of a great and be-

[b] Non dominationem & ſervos, ſed rectorem & cives cogitaret.

nevolent ſpirit will conſider; not himſelf as a lordly Tyrant, nor them as his Property and Slaves; but himſelf and them under the amiable and engaging ties of Magiſtrate and fellow Citizens. Such was the difference between a Queen Elizabeth and a Richard the ſecond; how glorious and proſperous the Reign of the one, how infamous and unhappy that of the other! what renown accompanies her memory, what ſcorn his! It is indeed apparent from our Hiſtory, that thoſe of our Princes who thirſted moſt violently after arbitrary rule, were chiefly ſuch as were remarkable for poor ſpirit, and ſmall genius, Pedants, Bigots, the timorous and effeminate.

The French Hiſtorians obſerve that the worſt and weakeſt of their Kings were fondeſt of Dominion, and their beſt and wiſeſt contented with ſtinted Power, and the rule of Laws. Lewis the eleventh, ſays Cardinal De Retz, was more crafty than wiſe. He was in truth a genuine Tyrant; he trampled upon the Laws of the Kingdom, and the lives of his Subjects, pillaged and oppreſſed all manner of ways, and followed no Counſel but that of his Luſt and Caprice. But what advantage or content, what ſecurity or fame did he draw from his exorbitant encroachments and power? No man ever lived under a blacker ſeries of fears, and cares, and ſuſpicions, or died in greater miſery and terrors; and in his life, and death, and memory he is equally deteſtable [c]. Lewis the thirteenth, a man naturally harmleſs, but ſilly, was jealous of his authority, purely becauſe he was ignorant about it; but Henry the fourth, who was born with a Soul great and generous, never diſtruſted the Laws, becauſe he truſted in the uprightneſs of his own Deſigns. "Il "ne ſe defioit pas des loix, parce qu'il ſe fioit en lui

[c] Vid. Phil. De Comines and Mezeray.

"même,"

" même," ſays De Retz. Another French Monarch of great name, loved and enjoyed unbridled Dominion, but had no greatneſs of mind or genius anſwerable to the meaſure of his ambition. He had a ſort of ſtiffneſs and perſeverance, by his flatterers ſtiled Fortitude and Firmneſs, but in reality ariſing from arrogance or obſtinacy; qualities found in the weakeſt women, and eminently in his mother. In Religion he was a bigot; in Politics falſe, ſuſpicious, and timid; in Government inſolent and oppreſſive; the property of his Miſtreſſes, the Pupil of his Confeſſors, the Dupe of his Miniſters; a ſore Plague to his Neighbours; a ſorer to his own People; vainly addicted to War without the talents of a Warrior; a diſhonourable Enemy, a faithleſs Ally; and, with ſmall Abilities, a great Troubler of the World.

It was natural to ſuch an Imperial Wolf as Caligula, to delight in power as ſavage as his own bloody ſpirit, and to boaſt that he had an unlimited privilege to do whatever his will or fury ſuggeſted [d]; but worthy of the benevolent and humane heart of Trajan, were the words by him uſed to his chief Officers, when he preſented them with the ſword. 'This ſword, this badge of Authority, you hold 'from me; but turn it, if I deſerve it, againſt 'me [e].' Now, did the challenging and exerciſe of this monſtrous power ſecure Caligula; or did the diſavowing of it leſſen the ſecurity of Trajan? quite otherwiſe; the former was abhorred and aſſaſſinated as a Tyrant; the latter was adored living, and died lamented, as a public Father and Guardian. Trajan knew no other purpoſe of Imperial Prerogative, but that of protecting the People; nor indeed is there any other uſe of Emperors and Prerogatives upon earth.

[d] Omnia ſibi in homines licere.
[e] Pro me; ſi merear, in me.

Cardinal

Cardinal De Retz ſays, that with all the arguments and pains he could uſe, he could never bring the Queen Regent to underſtand the meaning of theſe words, the Public. She thought that to conſult the intereſt of the People was to be a Republican, and had no notion that the Government of a Prince was any thing elſe but Royal Will and Authority, rampant and without bounds. Was it any wonder, that the people of France gaſped under Oppreſſions and Taxes, when the Government was ſwayed by ſuch a woman, herſelf blindly governed by Mazarine, a public Thief, if ever there was any; one convicted to have ſtollen from the Finances nine millions in a few years; one who had ſpent his younger years in low rogueries; who had no maxims of rule but ſuch as were adapted to the ſevereſt Tyranny in Italy, that of the Pope; and one, who, in the higheſt poſt of firſt Miniſter, could never help ſhewing the baſe ſpirit of a little Sharper. "Le vilain cœur paroiſſoit toûjours au "travers," ſays De Retz: the Duke of Orleans called him "un Scelerat, & Miniſtre incapable & "abhorré du genre humain; un Menteur fieffé."

Sect. V. The Wiſdom and ſafety of ruling by ſtanding Laws, to Prince and People.

IT was a fine anſwer of Theopompus King of Lacedæmon to his wife, who reproached him that he would leave the Kingſhip diminiſhed to his ſons, by creating the Ephori: 'Yes, ſays he, I ſhall 'leave it ſmaller, but I ſhall leave it more perma-'nent.' Valerius Maximus explains this by a very juſt reflection; 'Theopompus's reaſon was full of 'pertinency and force; for, in reality, that Au-'thority which bounds itſelf, and offers no injuries, 'is expoſed to none. The king therefore by re-'ſtraining Royalty within the juſt limits of Laws,

did

'did as much endear it to the Affections of his 'Countrymen, as he pruned it of all Licentiouſ-'neſs and Terror [f].'

It is as rare for a Prince limited by Laws, and content with his power, to reign in ſorrow, or to die tragically, as it is uncommon for thoſe who have no bounds ſet them, or will ſuffer none, to eſcape a miſerable Reign, and unbloody end. The power of the Roman Kings was, from the firſt eſtabliſhment, very ſhort; they had no negative voice in the Senate, and could neither make War nor Peace. What Tacitus ſays of Romulus [g], can only mean his adminiſtring juſtice, as the chief Magiſtrate, between man and man, or perhaps his encroachments upon the Senate towards his latter end, for which, it is thought, he paid dear.

Where the Government is arbitrary and ſevere, the oppreſſed people will be apt to think that no change can make their condition worſe; and therefore will be ready to wiſh for any, nay, to riſque a Civil War, riſque freſh evils and calamities, to get rid of the preſent, and to be revenged on their Oppreſſor. Such was the temper of the Romans upon the revolt of Sacrovir; they even rejoiced in it, and, in hatred to Tiberius, wiſhed ſucceſs to the public enemy [h]. People will be quiet and patient under burdens, however heavy, which Law lays on; for they ſuppoſe that laws are founded upon reaſon and neceſſity; but impoſitions the moſt rea-

[f] Optime quidem; ea demum tuta eſt potentia, quæ viribus ſuis modum imponit. Theopompus igitur legitimis regnum vinculis conſtringendo, quo longius à licentia retraxit, hoc propius ad benevolentiam civium admovit. Val. Max. L. 4. C. 1.

[g] Nobis Romulus ad libitum imperitaverat.

[h] Multi odio præſentium, & cupidine mutationis, ſuis quiſque periculis lætabantur.

ſonable

ſonable will be apt to appear unreaſonable and tyrannical, where they proceed from the will of one. Mere will is ſuppoſed to act without reaſon, and to be only the effect of wantonneſs; hence the acquieſcence of a free people however taxed, and from their acquieſcence, the ſafety of their Governors. Hence to the induſtry and wealth, and conſequently the peaceableneſs of the Country; for induſtry and wealth are things exceeding quiet and tame, and only aim at ſecuring themſelves; whereas idleneſs and indigence are uneaſy, tumultuous, and deſperate. Beſides, he who pays twenty ſhillings in a free Government, and pays it chearfully, would not perhaps, were the Government changed, pay willingly ten, nay, perhaps be unable to pay it, though by the change no new taxes were added. While the Law requires it, he will imagine that no more than enough is required; and as the ſame Law leaves him all the reſt to himſelf, he will be induſtrious to acquire more, and as much as he can; but when the quantity of his Tax depends upon the caprice or avarice of one; when the more he is worth, the more he will be taxed, or even fancies that he will be, he will grow idle, diſcontented and deſponding, and rather live poor and lazy, than labour to make his Taxmaſter rich. Not to mention the furious Monarchies of the Eaſt deſtructive of all Diligence and Arts; the Comte De Boulainvilliers in his Etat de la France, ſays, that in ſome Provinces in France the ſoil is left uncultivated, and ſeveral trades and profeſſions are diſuſed; becauſe the labour of the Huſbandman, and the ſkill and application of the Artiſt, are rendered abortive by rigorous impoſitions. They chuſe rather to ſtarve in idleneſs, than to work and ſtarve.

Sect.

Sect. VI. The Condition of free States, how preferable to that of ſuch as are not free.

NO arbitrary Prince upon earth could have raiſed from the States of Holland the fifth part of what they have, as a free State, paid to their own Magiſtrates, nor could have found whence to have raiſed it. I will venture to ſay the ſame of England. Under a Monarchy of the late King James's model, was it poſſible to have ſupported two wars ſo long and conſuming as the two laſt, or to have raiſed ſums ſo immenſe to carry them on? It would be madneſs to aſſert it. By this time numbers of our people would have been driven from their Country, much of our Soil been waſte, many of our Manufactures laid aſide, our Trade ſunk, our Wealth fled, and the condition of England have reſembled that of France, as well as our Government theirs, and for the ſame reaſon. It is in vain boaſted of the houſe of Medicis, that in a long courſe of years they had laid no new tax upon a country where their power was abſolute; ſince the Cities and Territories, under their Sovereignty, are by it reduced from great wealth and populouſneſs to ſuch miſerable deſolation and poverty, that it is downright oppreſſion to oblige them to pay any conſiderable part of the old, much more all.

To reaſon from experience and examples, is the beſt reaſoning [i]. Compare any free State with any other that is not free. Compare the former and preſent condition of any State formerly free; or once enſlaved, and now free. Compare England with France; Holland with Denmark; or the ſeven Provinces under the States, with the ſame ſeven Provinces under Philip the ſecond; you will find

[i] Quia pauci prudentia, honeſta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis diſcernunt; plures aliorum eventis docentur.

in

in theſe and every other inſtance, that happineſs and wretchedneſs are the exact tallies to Liberty and Bondage.

Florence was a Commonwealth ill framed at firſt, and conſequently ſubject to frequent convulſions, factions, parties, and ſubdiviſion of parties; yet by the mere bleſſing and vigour of Liberty, ſhe flouriſhed in people, riches and arms, till with her Liberty ſhe loſt all ſpirit and proſperity; and became languiſhing, little and contemptible under a ſmall Prince with a great name. She has been long cured of all her former frolicks and tumults, by an effectal remedy, ſervitude; and beggary, the child of ſervitude; and by depopulation, the offſpring of both [k]. All arguments for abſolute Power, are confuted by facts; no Country governed by mere will was ever governed well; paſſion governs the will, the will becomes the meaſure of right and wrong and of all things, and caprice the ballance of the will; and I know not but it may be maintained that a free State the worſt conſtituted, as was that of Florence, is, with all its diſorders, factions, and tumults, preferable to any abſolute Monarchy, however calm [l].

Sect. VII. The Miſery and Inſecurity of the Cæſars from their overgrown Power.

THESE Emperors of Rome, who had ſacrificed their country and all things to their ſupreme power, found little eaſe and ſecurity from its being ſupreme. From Cæſar the Dictator, who had ſacrificed public Liberty, and was himſelf ſacrificed to her manes, till Charlemain, above thirty of them were murdered, and four of them murdered themſelves; the ſoldiery were their maſters,

[k] Inſtrumenta ſervitutis & reges habuere.
[l] Solitudinem faciunt, pacem vocant.

and

and upon every pique put them to death. If the Prince was choſen by the Senate, this was reaſon enough for ſhedding his blood by the Armies; or if the Armies choſe him, this choice of their own never proved an obſtacle againſt ſhedding it. It was the ſoldiers that diſpatched the Emperor Pertinax, after he had been forced to accept the Empire. Theſe lofty Sovereigns having trodden under foot the Senate, People and Laws, the beſt ſupports of legitimate Power, held their ſceptre and their lives upon the courteſy of their maſters the ſoldiers. He who ſwayed the Univerſe, was a ſlave to his own mercenaries.

Though Auguſtus had reigned ſo long, and ſo thoroughly enfeebled or extinguiſhed the maxims of Liberty, and introduced and ſettled thoſe of Monarchy; Tiberius his immediate Succeſſor, thought himſelf ſo little ſafe, that he lived in perpetual vaſſalage to his own fears. By making all men ſlaves, he could not make himſelf free, and was only the moſt overgrown and gaudy ſlave in the Empire; ſo much do Princes gain by being above Law! They who will be content with no terms of reigning, but ſuch as make all men fear them, will find reaſons to fear all men. Tiberius did ſo, and the many ſacrifices which he made to his fear, far from leſſening, did but encreaſe it, as ſuch ſacrifices did but multiply enemies and terrors.

Firſt he dreaded Agrippa Poſthumus, and murdered him; but the murder enſured not his repoſe, even from that quarter; for a ſlave of that Prince perſonated his maſter, and alarmed Tiberius more than Agrippa had done. He dreaded Germanicus, and when that excellent perſon was dead (by no fair means, it was ſuppoſed) he dreaded Agrippina his wife, and her little children; and when by all manner of treachery and cruelty he had oppreſſed them, he was ſeized with new dread from Sejanus, the greateſt

greateſt and juſteſt of all; nor ceaſed his dread after the execution of Sejanus; inſomuch, that he commanded a general Maſſacre of all his Family, Friends, and Adherents. Next, his fears ſtill continuing, he doomed to the moſt barbarous death his own grandſons by Germanicus; for their being already under miſerable impriſonment and exile, did not ſuffice. And when the Family of Germanicus was deſtroyed; he had remaining fears from the Friends and Dependants of that Houſe; theſe were the next objects of his Vengeance, which he executed fiercely. Nor ſmall was the Terror which he entertained of his own Mother; and when ſhe was gone, he let looſe his rage upon the Favourites and Adherents of his Mother.

Now after all theſe precautions, ſo many and ſo bloody, did his ſuſpicions abate? No; they were rather whetted and inflamed [m]. Of the great Lords of the Senate he was under perpetual apprehenſions, and making daily victims; their wealth and race, nay, their poverty, names, and qualities frightened him; he feared friends and enemies. Thoſe who adviſed him in council, thoſe who diverted him at his leiſure hours; his Confidents, Counſellors, and Bottle-companions, were all Martyrs to his Jealouſy and Fury. He was ſo afraid of conſiderable men, or giving them employments which made them ſo, that ſome who were appointed Governors of Provinces, were never permitted to go thither, and great Provinces, for a courſe of years, left deſtitute of their Governors; and though he dreaded ſtirs and innovations above all things [n]; yet he ſuffered the loſs and devaſtation of Provinces, the inſults and invaſion of enemies, rather than truſt any one with the power of avenging the State, and repulſing the

[m] Irritatus ſuppliciis.

[n] Nihil æque Tiberium anxium habebat, quam ne compoſita turbarentur.

public

public foe. Thus he left Armenia to be ſeized by the Parthians, Mœſia by the Dacians and other barbarians, and both the Gauls to be ravaged by the Germans °, ſays Suetonius.

Sect. VIII. A repreſentation of the Torments and Horrors under which TIBERIUS lived.

WHAT joy, what tranquillity did Tiberius reap from his great and unaccountable Sovereignty? Did it exempt him from diſquiet, or could all his efforts, all the terrors of his Power, prevent or remove his own? Did his numerous Armies protect him from the aſſaults of fear and apprehenſion? Did he ſleep the ſounder for his Prætorian Bands? Did the Rocks of Capreæ, hardly acceſſible to men, keep off thoſe horrors of mind which haunted him at Rome, and on the Continent? Or rather, with all the eclat of Empire, with all his Policy and all his Guards, was he not the moſt miſerable Being in his Dominions? Doubtleſs he was; other particulars, the moſt obnoxious and threatened, had but ſome things and ſome perſons to fear; Tiberius dreaded all men and every thing. Was his Power unlimited? ſo was his Miſery; the more he made others ſuffer, the faſter he multiplied his own torments. He himſelf confeſſed, that all the anger of the Deities could not doom him to more terrible anguiſh than that under which he felt himſelf periſhing daily.

Imagine this great Prince, this Sovereign of Rome, in hourly fear of ſecret Aſſaſſins; daily dreading and expecting the news of Armies revolted, a new Emperor created, and himſelf depoſed: imagine him fixed upon a high rock, and watching there from

° Magno dedecore Imperii, nec minore diſcrimine.

day

day to day, with a careful eye and an anxious and boding heart, for ſignals from the Continent, whether he muſt ſtay or fly: imagine him every moment ready to commit himſelf to the waves and tempeſts, and to eſcape whither he could for life and ſhelter: imagine him, even after a Conſpiracy ſuppreſſed, lurking for nine months together in one lodge, under ſuch terrors as not to dare to venture an airing even in his beloved Capreæ, however walled with Rocks and defended with Guards. In ſhort, he feared every thing but to do evil, which yet was the ſole cauſe of his fears. Such was his ſituation and life, and ſuch the bleſſing of lawleſs might! 'To Tiberius not his Imperial fortune, 'not his gloomy and inacceſſible ſolitude could en-'ſure repoſe, nor keep him from feeling nor even 'from avowing the rack in his breaſt and the aveng-'ing furies that purſued him.' His Death too, was, like his life and reign, tragical and bloody.

Sect. IX. The terrible Operation of lawleſs Power upon the minds of Princes; and how it changes them.

TIBERIUS was an able man; he had talents for Affairs; he had eminent ſufficiency in War; during the Commonwealth he would have well ſupported the Dignity of a Senator; he would have filled the firſt Offices of the State; he would have probably been zealous for public Liberty. He had even under Auguſtus, while he was yet a Subject, acquired a ſignal name and eſtimation. Nay it is likely he might have left behind him a high reputation and applauſe; for he had Art enough to have hid or ſuppreſſed the ill qualities which were naturally in him; ſo that he might have lived happy and admired, and died in renown. But being, unhappily for himſelf and his Country, inveſted with

Power without controul, he let looſe all his Paſſions, and he, who might have proved an excellent and uſeful Member of a free State, became a Prince altogether mercileſs and pernicious; a terrible Tyrant, void of natural affection for his own Blood and Family, void of all regard and tenderneſs for his People, and poſſeſſed with intenſe hate towards the Senate and Nobility. One of his diſcernment was not to be deceived by Flattery; he knew that, whatever ſubmiſſions and even proſtrations were made him, the Yoke of Sovereignty was grating and grievous to the Romans, and he ſought revenge upon their perſons for hating his Uſurpation. This conduct made him more hated, and this hatred enraged him ſo, that at laſt, renouncing all ſhame, and throwing away his beloved Arts of Diſſimulation, he commenced, as it were, an open Enemy to his People, ſurrendered himſelf over to every act of Cruelty, and to every abomination, even to Rapaciouſneſs and Plunder, a vice to which for a long time he ſeemed to have no biaſs.

But what is not to be apprehended from Power without controul, and who is to be truſted with it, when a man of ſuch ſtrong parts and long experience as Tiberius, was ſo entirely maſtered and perverted by it? It is a taſk too mighty for the ſoul of man, and fit for none but God, who cannot change, cannot act paſſionately, cannot be miſtaken, and is omnipreſent. There are few inſtances of men who have not been corrupted and intoxicated with it, and many, of whom the higheſt hopes were conceived, have degenerated notoriouſly under it. When men are once above fear of puniſhment, they ſoon grow to be above ſhame. Beſides, the genius and abilities of men are limited, but their paſſions and vanity boundleſs; hence ſo few can be perfectly good, and ſo many are tranſcendently evil. They miſtake good fortune for great merit, and are apt

to

to riſe in their own conceit as high at leaſt as fortune can raiſe them. Galba was, in the opinion of all men, worthy of Empire, and that opinion would have ever continued, had he never been tried; and Veſpaſian was, till then, the only inſtance of an Emperor by power changed for the better P.

Sect. X. The wretched Fears accompanying the Poſſeſſion of arbitrary Power, exemplified in CALIGULA and other Roman Emperors.

NOR was this anguiſh and theſe fears peculiar to Tiberius, his Succeſſors felt them eminently; as did every one who reigned as he reigned. Caligula was ſo haunted by inward horrors, and his imagination ſo terrified, that he became almoſt a ſtranger to ſleep, and uſed to roam about the palace while others ſlept, afraid of the night, and invoking the return of day. Upon an alarm from Germany, he prepared to run away from Rome; and was always provided with exquiſite poiſon againſt an exigency. Claudius ſcarce lived a moment of his Reign free from affrights and ſuſpicions; nor was there any accident ſo trivial, or any Man, Woman, or Slave, or Child ſo contemptible, as not to diſmay him and ſet him upon ſanguinary precautions and puniſhments; he was ſeveral times almoſt frighted out of his Sovereignty, and willing to creep away into ſafety and ſolitude. Even before the Senate, which upon the ſight of a dagger, he had ſummoned in great haſte and earneſtneſs, the poor unmanly wretch burſt into tears and howling, bewailing his perillous condition, that in no place or circumſtance could he be out of the way of dan-

P Soluſque omnium ante ſe Principum in melius mutatus eſt.

ger.

ger. His whole life was governed by fears, and his fears by his wives and freedmen; hence his exceſſive cruelty, according to the meaſure of his own timidity, or of their ambition, vindictiveneſs, and rapacity. The Horrors of Nero's guilt never forſook him; they were ſometimes ſo violent, that every joint about him trembled; he dreaded his Mother's Ghoſt as much as he had her living Spirit, and made doleful complaints, that the Furies purſued him with Stripes, and Rage, and burning Torches: and that he was alarmed with horrid ſhrieks and groans from his Mother's Tomb. What elſe did Heliogabalus apprehend but a violent death, when he went always provided with a ſilken halter and a golden poignard, as expedients to eſcape death by the hand of an enemy? For the like purpoſe Caracalla made himſelf a copious proviſion of poiſons. This barbarous Parricide was wont to complain that the Ghoſt of his Father, and that of his Brother by him murdered, terrified and purſued him with drawn ſwords. So ſorely did the bloody Horrors of their Crimes and Infamy, haunt theſe men of Blood, and became their Executioners! What availed their Power and Armies againſt the alarms of their Conſcience? Could all their Titles and Might, all the Guards at their gate, ſcare away reflection, or reſcue them from the agonies and gorings of their own breaſts?

Sect. XI. What it is that conſtitutes the Security and Glory of a Prince; and how a Prince and People become eſtranged from each other.

WHAT then is it that a Prince may rely on for the ſecurity of his Perſon, and the quiet of his Soul? Hear the opinion of a great and a good Prince, Marcus Antoninus, delivered to his Friends

and Counſellors juſt before he expired: 'Verily it 'is neither the influence of Revenue and Treaſures, 'nor the multitude of Guards, that can uphold a 'Prince, or aſſure him of obedience, unleſs with 'the duty of obedience, the zeal and affections of 'his People do concur. Surely, only long and ſe-'cure is the Reign of ſuch a one as by actions of 'benignity ſtamps upon the hearts of his People 'the impreſſions of love; not thoſe of fear by acts 'of cruelty.' He adds, 'that a Prince has nothing 'to fear from his People, as long as their obedience 'flows from Inclination, and is not conſtrained by 'Servitude; and that Subjects will never refuſe obe-'dience, when they are not treated with contumely 'and violence [q].'

A man who means no ill would not ſeek the Power to do it, and he who ſeeks that Power, or has it, will be eternally ſuſpected to mean no good. Now the only way to obviate ſuch ſuſpicion, is, to act by known rules of Law; he who rules by conſent is obnoxious to no blame. Such reſtraint may probably at ſome times keep a juſt Prince from doing good, but it certainly withholds a bad one from doing much greater miſchief. An arbitrary Prince who can do what he will, is for ever liable to be ſuſpected of willing all that he can; hence his people miſtruſt him; hence his indignation for their miſtruſt, and hence the root of eternal jealouſy and uneaſineſs between him and them.

The People likewiſe expect complaiſance from the Prince, expect to have their ſentiments and humours conſidered; while the Prince probably thinks that they have no right to form any judgment of public matters, or to make any demands upon him; but, on the contrary, requires of them blind reverence and obedience to his Authority; and ac-

[q] See Herodian in Marc. Antonin.

quieſcence in his ſuperior Conduct and Skill; that all his doings ſhould paſs for juſt; himſelf for a perſon altogether ſacred and unaccountable; and his words for Laws. If their behaviour towards him do not happen to ſquare exactly with theſe his ſovereign notions and high conceit of himſelf, he will be apt to think, or ſome officious flatterer will be ready to perſuade him [r], 'his Royal Authority is 'ſet at nought, the People are revolted; and what 'remains but that they take Arms?' To puniſh therefore their Diſobedience, he proceeds to violence, and exerciſes real ſeverity for imaginary guilt. Miſchief is prolific; violence in him begets reſentment in them; the People murmur and exclaim; the Prince is thence provoked, and ſtudies vengeance; when one act of vengeance is reſented and expoſed, as it ever will be, more will follow. Thus things go on. Affection is not only loſt, but irrecoverable on either ſide; hatred is begun on both; and Prince and People conſider themſelves no longer as Magiſtrate and Subjects, but one another as Enemies. Hence perhaps Caligula's inhuman wiſh, that he could murder all his People at a blow. The ſequel of all this is eaſy to be gueſſed; he is continually deſtroying them; they are continually wiſhing him deſtroyed.

Sect. XII. How nearly it behoves a Prince to be beloved and eſteemed by his Subjects. The terrible Conſequences of their mutual Miſtruſt and Hatred.

HOW much does it import Princes to preſerve the good opinion of their people! when it is once loſt, it is ſcarce ever to be recalled. When

[r] Spretam voluntatem Principis, deſciviſſe populum: quid reliquum niſi ut caperent ferrum?

once they come to believe ill of their Prince, there is nothing ſo ill that they will not believe; as in the inſtance of Tiberius, of whom things the moſt improbable and horrid were believed. It is hardly poſſible for any merit, the moſt genuine and exalted, to preſerve popular favour for a long time; accidents and diſaſters will be falling in, to ſour the ſpirits of the populace; or ſome freſh merit, more new or more glaring, may appear, and leſſen or intercept their admiration of the other; or the ſame perſon may not always have the ſame opportunities to oblige them; ſo that the beſt care and conduct can only ſerve to retain it to a certain degree; and this by good conduct is certainly and always to be done. But when the reputation of the Prince with his Subjects is entirely gone, ſomething worſe than the bare want of it will enſue. Between a Prince's forfeiting the public Affection and his incurring the public Hatred, there is ſcarce any medium, and even that medium is a terrible one, ſince to be ſcorned is not much better than to be hated, and often infers it.

Would a Prince live in ſecurity, eaſe and credit! let him live and rule by a ſtandard certain and fixed, that of Laws, nor graſp at more than is given him. Many by ſeeking too much have loſt all, and forfeited their Crown through the wantonneſ and folly of loading it with falſe and invidious ornaments. While nothing would ſerve them but lawleſs Power, even their legitimate Authority grew odious, and was rent from them. They ſet their People the example of aſſuming what was none of theirs, to do acts of violence in defence of violated Laws, to judge for themſelves, and to ſanctify by the title of Right whatever they could accompliſh by force. Rather than live upon bad terms, people will be apt to make their own terms, and think no fealty is due where no faith is kept. Who would

not

not rejoice more in a free gift than in plunder? for such is the difference between Power conferred and Power usurped. What new Prerogative acquired to the Crown, or what new Revenue can make amends for the Hearts of the People estranged and embittered? This is such a loss, as no acquisition, no pomp of Power whatsoever, can atone for. We have seen under what gloom, affright, and despair the Cæsars lived and swayed, though their sway was without check and bounds. Machiavel says, that when a Prince has once incurred the public hate, there is no person nor thing which he ought not to dread.

He who does no ill, fears none; but such as are continually creating terrors and calamities to others, have abundant reason to be under continual apprehensions themselves. How much more desirable, how much more just, and easy, and safe is the condition of a Prince, who lives and rules by Laws over a free People by their own consent? both People and Laws are his guard, and what secures them, secures him. They feel that he loves them; and he is conscious that they ought to love him. This is Government, and the effects of it; not the triumph of boundless arrogance or folly; not the insults of one over all, nor consequently his distrust of them, nor their slavish dread of him; but the equal administration of eternal Righteousness, and stated Laws; an endearing intercourse of fatherly care and protection, and of filial gratitude and duty. How amiable must it be, how refreshing to a generous Spirit, to oblige and solace a whole People, to have a whole People adore and bless him! What master of slaves, even the highest and most unbounded master, can boast so much of himself and his slaves? The grandeur of such a Prince is all false and tinsel, painted and hollow; he is never secure, because he

is not innocent; he is not innocent, becauſe he is an Oppreſſor.

To rule by mere Will, is to rule by violence, and violence is War. He who puts himſelf in a ſtate of Hoſtility with his Subjects, invites Hoſtility from them, as did the late King James, who having no Confidence in the Laws, which he had violated, nor in his People, whom he had oppreſſed, put himſelf in a poſture of War againſt his Subjects; ſo that when they too had recourſe to arms, they did but ſtand in their own defence. They had no quarrel to that King James, who had taken an oath to rule by Law; but when that King aſſumed another perſon, and, in ſpite of Oaths and Laws, would oppreſs and ſpoil, they who owed this man of violence no Allegiance, oppoſed Might to Might, ſince he would abide by no Law. It was not their Prince therefore that they reſiſted, but their enemy and Spoiler: he in truth, had no more Right to what the Law gave him not, than the great Turk had; they therefore oppoſed not an Engliſh Monarch, but an Invader and a Tyrant. Nor do I know of any People who threw off their Monarchy wantonly; and if they did it through Oppreſſion, the Oppreſſor might blame himſelf [s]. Had he conquered his Subjects, what would he have gained, but the deteſtable Glory of a triumphant Oppreſſor; of ſeeing a rich Country reduced by ſervitude to poverty, and of bearing the curſes of a free People oppreſſed? Whoever has beheld the condition of a great neighbouring Kingdom, naturally the fineſt in Europe, has ſeen in the condition of the Inhabitants, poor, pale, naſty, and naked, what genuine Glory their Princes have reaped, by reducing all the Laws of their Country into one ſhort one, that of Royal Will and Pleaſure.

[s] Quidam, poſtquam regum pertæſum, leges maluerunt.

Sect.

Sect. XIII. Public Happineſs only then certain, when the Laws are certain and inviolable.

IT is allowed that amongſt the Roman Emperors, there were ſome excellent ones. But was not all this chance? They might have proved like the reſt, who were incredibly miſchievous and vile. They had nothing but their own Inclinations to reſtrain them; and is human Society to depend for ſecurity and happineſs upon uncertain Inclinations and Will? They were good by conformity to the Laws, as Laws are the only defence againſt ſuch as are bad. The bad ones had almoſt ſunk the Empire to a chaos, before there appeared one Prince of tolerable capacity and virtue to retrieve it. Inſomuch that Veſpaſian declared it to be abſolutely neceſſary to raiſe a fund of above three hundred millions of money (of our money) purely to ſave the State from abſolute ruin, and diſſolution [t]. After Domitian there ſucceeded five good Reigns, during which Law and Righteouſneſs prevailed, and the Emperors took nothing, neither power nor money, but what Laws long eſtabliſhed gave them, and profeſſed to derive every thing from the Law, and to occupy nothing in their own Name. But as the Emperor might ſtill be a Tyrant if he would, that wild Prince Commodus reſumed the old meaſures of violence, and, becoming a ſecond Caligula, diſſipated and overturned in a few years, all the treaſure, wiſe proviſions and eſtabliſhments, contrived and gathered by his predeceſſors during the beſt part of a Century.

To conclude, if Princes would never encroach, Subjects would hardly ever rebel; and if the former

[t] Ut Reſpublica ſtare poſſit.

knew that they would be reſiſted, they would not encroach. Every Subject knows that if he reſiſts againſt Law, he will die by Law. It is certain miſchief to both Prince and People, to aſſert ſlaviſh Doctrines, and no ſecurity to either; ſince nature oppreſſed will depart from paſſive principle. But to aſſert the reaſonableneſs of vindicating violated Laws, is no more than aſſerting that Laws ought not to be violated, as they ever will be where there is no penalty annexed. The leaſt attempt upon public Liberty is therefore alarming; if it is ſuffered once, it will be apt to be repeated often; a few repetitions create a habit; habit claims preſcription and right. Such alſo is the nature of man, that when public Affairs are once diſconcerted, it is hard, ſometimes impoſſible, to reſtore them to their firſt firmneſs; numbers become engaged in the corruption, and will be trying all their Arts and Power to ſupport it. Where it grows extenſive and general, the public Authority will probably eſpouſe and defend it; and even where that authority is againſt it, the torrent may be ſo ſtrong as to bear down Authority itſelf. How many great and good men have fallen themſelves while they ſtrove to reſtore the State? attempts to reform the Soldiery, to reform the Clergy, to reform the Civil Adminiſtration, have often drawn down a tragical doom upon the authors of them. It is much eaſier to prevent than to cure.

DIS-

DISCOURSE VI.

Of the old Law of Treaſon by the Emperors perverted and extended.

Sect. I. The ancient Purpoſe of that Law; the Politics of Augutus in ſtretching it.

I Proceed now to ſhew by what Arts and Supports the Tyranny was preſerved and exerted; how the old Laws, eſpecially that of Treaſon, were perverted, and to explain the inſtrumenta regni. 'This Law, ſays Tacitus, in the days of our 'Anceſtors, had indeed the ſame Name, but implied 'different arraignments and crimes, namely thoſe 'againſt the State; as when an army was betrayed 'abroad, when ſeditions were raiſed at home; in 'ſhort, when the public was faithleſly adminiſtered, 'and the Majeſty of the Roman People was de-'baſed. Theſe were Actions; and Actions were 'puniſhed, but words were free. Auguſtus was 'the firſt who brought Libels under the penalties 'of this wreſted Law [a].'

In that ſenſe of this Law (and doubtleſs it is the true ſenſe) the Emperors were the criminals; they who had enſlaved Senate and People, uſurped and deſtroyed the State. But they had got the Power

[a] Legem Majeſtatis reduxerat (Tiberius); cui nomen apud veteres idem, ſed alia in judicium veniebant: ſi quis proditione exercitum, aut plebem ſeditionibus, denique male geſta Repub. Majeſtatem populi Romani minuiſſet. Facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant. Primus Auguſtus cognitionem de famoſis libellis, ſpecie legis ejus tractavit.

of interpreting Laws, or of directing thoſe who did, and conſequently were become the Law-makers. As Laws obſerved had defended Liberty ; Laws wreſted ſecured the Uſurpers. Hence the old Law of Treaſon was degraded and perverted to involve in its penalties the Authors of Lampoons and Paſquinades. This Law of Majeſty was ſo much and ſo long proſtituted and abuſed ; ſo much bloodſhed and oppreſſion was committed by the ſucceeding Emperors under its name, that at laſt every ſentence and puniſhment, however juſt, which was pronounced by virtue of it, was thought unlawful and cruel ; ſo that out of deteſtation to this abuſed Law, many other good Laws periſhed.

Doubtleſs Reputation is a tender thing, and ought no more to be violated than property or life ; and they who attack and blacken it, are as vile Offenders as they who rob and ſteal. But there was no better pretence for making it treaſonable, than for conſtruing any other offence againſt particulars, to be an offence againſt the public. In truth, Auguſtus could have no other view in this, than the ſuppreſſing of that Freedom of Speech which was an effect of the freedom of the ancient Government, and inconſiſtent with his Uſurpation. When words were made Treaſon, it was time to be wary of one's expreſſions ; eſpecially when the Conſtruction of them was merely arbitrary, and the Law that made them ſo, was utterly ſilent about them, there remained no ſort of rule to know when they were otherwiſe ; nor had he who was to be judge any rule but his own ſuſpicion, anger and partiality. For every word, for every action, men were involved in proceſs for Treaſon, provided there appeared but an informer to charge him, and call it ſo.

It is to no purpoſe to ſay that Auguſtus ſometimes overlooked or pardoned invectives againſt himſelf. It was all grimace and falſe generoſity ; ſince,

after

after this Law was ſo terribly inverted, there was little likelihood that men would run ſuch capital riſques. If contumelies upon private perſons were high Treaſon, what muſt it be to meddle with the Prince or his Adminiſtration? He took care of himſelf without ſeeming to do ſo; he found his own ſanctuary in providing one for others; and regulations made for his own defence and gratification, had an appearance of a ſpirit altogether public and diſintereſted. But it was a downright inſult upon the ſenſe of mankind, to convert a petulant imagination and a few wanton words, into a crime againſt the State. He who expoſed the gallantries of a Lady of Quality, or the faults and foibles of a Patrician, was, forſooth, deemed to bear hoſtile purpoſes againſt the Commonwealth: for this is the conſtruction of Treaſon by the Lawyers. Yet Auguſtus himſelf had made obſcene Libels, particularly upon Fulvia the wife of Anthony. This multiplying of Treaſons from Words and Writings, had a melancholy aſpect; for, beſides that Treaſons multiplied are the bulwarks and engines of Tyranny; looks at laſt became treaſonable, as did natural ſympathy and ſorrow, nay, ſighs and ſilence.

Auguſtus was cunning enough to know the advantages of Treaſons multiplied to his own domination, and wreſted adultery alſo into a crime of State. His daughter and her daughter were proſtitutes, and all their gallants, according to this merciful Monarch, were Traytors, and becauſe theſe ſort of Traytors were very numerous, as well as conſiderable for quality and credit, he had here a good pretence to get rid of many conſiderable Romans, who gave him uneaſineſs and jealouſy. With death or baniſhment therefore he puniſhed their gallants. For to a crime common between men and women, he gave the grievous name of Treaſon and Sacrilege, and trod upon the moderation of Anti-

quity. Nor was this ſort of Treaſon limited to the Reigning Houſe and the blood of the Cæſars; it was univerſal, and every Adulterer was a Traytor; by which he made himſelf the greateſt Traytor in Rome, as he was the moſt univerſal Adulterer; nor were his own ſevere Laws any check upon him, no more than the ſacred ties of friendſhip; for he ſpared not the wife of his own Favourite, and faithful Counſellor Mæcenas. This was not extreme prudence in ſo great a Politician, to be daily violating inſtitutions of his own making, eſpecially when by the rigour of the penalties, and the formidable name which he had given to the crime, he had ſhewn how important and unpardonable he thought it; unleſs, like the Princes of Italy in Machiavel's time, he broke penal Laws, to encourage others to do ſo, on purpoſe to enſnare delinquents, and gain confiſcations.

Sect. II. The Deification of the Emperors, what an engine of Tyranny, and ſnare to the Roman People.

THE Deification of Auguſtus and his uſurping even in his life-time the Attributes and Prerogatives of a Deity, was another ſnare for Power and Crimes. Henceforth every offence offered to this new Deity was high Treaſon againſt the Gods; for he was a God as well as the beſt of them, and indeed more to be dreaded than all of them. It became a high crime to ſwear falſly by his name, the ſame as if the name of Jupiter had been falſified; nay, to ſell his Statue in the ſale of a houſe or gardens; and the citizens of Cyzicus, notwithſtanding their faithful adherence and ſtrenuous ſervices to the Romans in the Mithridatic War, were bereft of their freedom for neglecting the worſhip of the deified Auguſtus. The name of Apidius Merula

rula was razed from the liſt of Senators, becauſe he had not ſworn upon the Acts of the deified Auguſtus. One of the articles charged againſt C. Silanus, Proconſul of Aſia, was, that he violated the Deity of Auguſtus. Varilia, in the opinion of Tiberius, deſerved to be condemned, if ſhe had uttered aught irreligiouſly concerning the deified Auguſtus; for this was Treaſon and Blaſphemy. Such was the awe and reverence paid to this freſh Deity; and ſuch care had he taken to tie up the tongues of men from cenſuring him living or dead; he was inſtar omnium deorum; you might ſay what you would of other Gods, but beware of injuring a deified Emperor. He had done more miſchief, committed higher oppreſſions, ſpilt more human blood than all the men in the world, and was made a Deity!

Nor was it out of any principle of Superſtition, that Tiberius guarded the fame and Godhead of Auguſtus with ſuch ſevere ſanctions; for he little mattered the Gods and godly Rites, being himſelf a Fataliſt, and only infatuated with notions of Aſtrology. Neither was it from any regard to Auguſtus (who was ſuſpected to have been poiſoned to make way for him) and whoſe Blood and Poſterity he was daily deſtroying; a proceeding inconſiſtent with the adorations and ſacrifices which he affected to offer him, as Agrippina truly told him. But he did it to promote Superſtition in others, and rivet the public Slavery; ſince in religious devotion paid to a Prince, civil ſubmiſſion was included and enforced. It in truth imported him nearly to have all the Laws and doings of Auguſtus paſs for ſacred, and to ſet an example himſelf that he thought them ſo. Auguſtus had left him (as he pretended) his Succeſſor, and it behoved him that Auguſtus ſhould paſs for a Prince of conſummate wiſdom; for had he erred in other great counſels and events, he might have erred in that; beſides, Auguſtus was a popu-

lar

lar Prince, and it would have been unpopular to have neglected him, or reſcinded his deeds.

Nero too acquired the Sovereignty by the murder of Claudius, and, to keep it, murdered his Children and Kindred; yet he at firſt treated his memory with high regard, vindicated the Reign, and even extolled the parts and prudence of this deified fool; for Claudius too was liſted amongſt the Gods; he who had been the moſt ſtupid, cowardly, and bloody Idiot that could poſſibly wear and diſgrace a Diadem. This ſtrange animal or human monſter, juſt begun by nature, but never finiſhed, as his mother uſed to ſay, was utterly unfit for any Office in the Empire or private life, yet came to be an Emperor and a God. So that to bear ſovereign rule, or to be exalted to a God, no qualification at all was neceſſary. His grandmother Livia contemned him even to loathing; ſhe could not bear to ſpeak to him. His nephew Caligula, when he had butchered many of his kindred, ſaved Claudius purely to keep him for a laughing-ſtock. He was held in the ſame ſcorn by his ſiſter Livilla, by Auguſtus and all his family. He was the jeſt of the Court [b]. The kindeſt word Auguſtus gave him was that of *miſellus*, wretchling.

Sect. III. The Images of the Emperors, how ſacred they became, and how pernicious.

AS flattery begot ſervitude, ſo it was by ſervitude propagated, and whatever tended to ſink and debaſe the ſpirit of the people, as ſycophancy did, exalted the Tyrants; nay, their Images and Statues became ſacred and revered; and any villain or profligate might offer what outrage he pleaſed to every worthy man, every ſlave inſult his Lord,

[b] Tum Claudius inter ludibria aulæ erat.

every

every criminal escape justice, by sheltering himself under the Emperor's Statue, or by carrying his Effigies about him. Nor could so considerable a man as a Senator of Rome, even in the face of the Tribunal, and in the very portal of the Senate, escape the insults and menaces of a profligate woman, who thus defended herself with the Image of Tiberius, though he had legally convicted her of forgery; so far was he from daring to bring her to judgment. So that in this impious reverence to a silent Stone, all Law, and punishment, and protection was swallowed up. This gives probability to what Philostratus tells us in the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, that a master was condemned, as one sacrilegious and accursed, for having chastized a slave, who happened to have about him a small coin impressed with the Effigies of Tiberius. So vastly had servitude grown upon the Romans so early as the Reign of Tiberius, and in the best part of his Reign, even while he yet kept tolerable measures with Law and Liberty, and warily avoided all excesses of power and cruelty. Yet in his second year, Granius Marcellus being arraigned of high Treason, it was one of the Articles, that the Statue of Marcellus stood higher than that of the Cæsars, and from that of Augustus the head had been taken off, and the head of Tiberius put on. At the recital of this Tiberius waxed into such a flame and fury, that, departing from his wonted caution and silence, he cried aloud, he would vote in this cause himself under the tie of an oath. He was excellently answered by Cneius Piso, who asked him; 'In what 'place, Cæsar, will you chuse to vote? if first, I 'shall have your example to follow; if last, I fear, 'through ignorance, I may happen to differ from 'you.' Hence the reflection of Tacitus, that there even

even then remained ſome faint traces of expiring Liberty [c].

It is not ſtrange, however hideous, to find afterwards theſe Statues, theſe dead repreſentatives of the dead, inveſted with ſuch extravagant and inviolable ſanctity, that it was death without redemption for a maſter to chaſtize his ſlave near the picture or image of Auguſtus; death, to change one's garments there; death, to carry a coin or a ring with his Image into the Privy or into the Stews; death, to drop a word that ſeemed to cenſure any action or any ſaying of his; and death was the portion of that unhappy man, who ſuffered ſome public honour to be decreed him by his Colony, on the Anniverſary of the ſame day, when Auguſtus had once public honours decreed to him.

The execrable Caligula, who was a profeſſed foe to the human race, a monſter gorged with blood, and dyed in it, aſſumed Godhead as well as the reſt, and claimed all the apparatus of Divinity, a Temple and Altars, Worſhip and choice Sacrifices. It is incredible what dreadful puniſhments he inflicted upon many even of principal faſhion, for no other crime, than that they had never invoked his celeſtial Genius by an Oath. This was capital, it was Majeſty violated; and for it the offenders, after they had been firſt torn and mangled with ſtripes, were doomed to the mines, or to the drudgery of mending the public roads, or to be thrown to wild beaſts; and ſome were ſawed aſunder. A bloody Deity! Had he been omnipotent, the race of men muſt have been extinct. All his own murders, all the efforts of his malice and rage, were not able to accompliſh it, and he wiſhed to derive the Glory of

[c] Manebant etiam tum veſtigia morientis libertatis.

his

his Reign from ſome ſignal Calamities happening in it; as if the monſter himſelf had not been curſe and calamity enough! He envied Auguſtus the happineſs of an Army maſſacred, and Tiberius the ſad diſaſter at Fidenæ, where fifty thouſand ſouls were maimed, or periſhed outright by the fall of the Amphitheatre there. Hence he longed paſſionately for the bleſſing of ſome public Calamities great and dreadful, the Slaughter of great Armies, Famine, Peſtilence, Conflagrations and Earthquakes. The acclamations of the crowd in the Theatre differing from his, he uttered a Godlike wiſh, 'That the 'whole Roman People had but one common neck; 'for then one execution would have diſpatched 'them all.' To complete the Character of this benevolent Deity, he boaſted, that of all his great Qualities, none delighted him ſo much as his defiance of all ſhame [d].

Theſe celeſtial Titles and Worſhip divine, were ſometimes beſtowed upon the wives of the Emperors, their ſiſters, harlots, and infants. Caligula was wont to ſwear by the Divinity of Druſilla his ſiſter and concubine. Claudius had divine Honours decreed to Livia his grandmother. Nero's daughter by Poppæa was deified; Worſhip, Prieſt, and Chapel were aſſigned her; and it was one of the crimes imputed to Thraſea Pætus, that he did not believe Poppæa herſelf to be a Divinity. Nay, it would ſeem as if Nero's Voice had been created a Divinity, ſince I think, it was Treaſon never to have ſacrificed to it; a crime imputed to the ſame Thraſea. Domitian likewiſe adjudged himſelf a God, and proved much ſuch another as Caligula.

[d] Nihil majus in natura ſua laudare ſe ac probare quam ἀδιατρεψίαν.

Sect.

Sect. IV. What a deſtructive Calamity the Law of Majeſty grew, and how faſt Treaſons multiplied under its Name.

I Have ſaid ſo much of this humour of deifying Princes living or dead, not ſo much to expoſe it, as to ſhew the wicked effects it had upon Liberty and the State. It opened a new Source of flattery, and accuſations, and puniſhments, and ſtrengthened the hand of Tyranny; of this I have given ſufficient inſtances, and many more might be given, all manifeſtly proving with what impudence and cruelty the Law of Majeſty was ſtretched and embittered. In this Law all Laws were ſwallowed up, and therefore all crimes brought under the article of Treaſon, as Treaſon was the higheſt crime[e], as in the caſe of C. Silius, whoſe chief offence was overmuch ſervice done to Tiberius; thence that refined obſervation of Tacitus; 'That benefits are only ſo far 'acceptable, as it ſeems poſſible to diſcharge them; 'but when once they have exceeded all retaliation, 'hatred is returned for gratitude.' Under Tiberius, ſays Suetonius, every fault paſſed for Capital, even that of Words, however few and undeſigning. When C. Silanus was arraigned for male-adminiſtration in Aſia, Tacitus ſays, that beſides all the other methods of artifice and violence, manifold and barbarous, uſed to deſtroy him; that none of his relations might dare to aid him and plead for him in his trial, articles of Treaſon were ſubjoined, a ſure bar to all aſſiſtance, and a ſeal upon their lips. One of the great charges againſt Libo Druſus was, that he aſked the fortune-tellers, whether he ſhould not one day be immenſely rich. This too was the ſin of Majeſty violated, and for it he was purſued to

[e] Cuncta quæſtione majeſtatis exercita.

death

death and his eſtate ſeized. Note, that theſe were two men of high quality, akin to the Cæſars, and obnoxious to Tiberius. This ſeems to have been their real crime. Ceſius Cordus was accuſed of Rapine in his Government of Crete; but to make ſure of the criminal, he was likewiſe charged with the crime of violated Majeſty; a charge, ſays Tacitus, which in thoſe days proved the ſum and bulwark of all accuſations whatſoever.

It was Treaſon in Cremutius Cordus to have inſerted in his Hiſtory the praiſes of Brutus; Treaſon, to have ſtiled Caſſius the laſt of the Romans, though in doing it he only quoted the words of Brutus; Treaſon in Titius Sabinus to have been a follower of Germanicus, and after his death, a faithful friend to his wife and children; Treaſon in Pompeia Macrina, Treaſon in her Father and Brother, the former an illuſtrious Roman Knight, the latter once Prætor, to have been deſcended from Theophanes of Mitylene, a noble Greek, in great confidence with Pompey the Great; Treaſon in L. Ennius a Roman Knight, to have turned the Effigies of the Emperor into money; Treaſon in Lutorius Priſcus, another Roman Knight, to have compoſed during the illneſs of Druſus, a Poem for an Elegy, in caſe he died; Treaſon in Mamercus Scaurus, an illuſtrious Orator nobly born, that in a Tragedy by him compoſed, there were certain Verſes capable of two meanings; Treaſon in Torquatus Silanus, a Nobleman of the firſt rank in Rome, to live ſplendidly, and entertain ſeveral principal ſervants; another Silanus his Nephew died ſoon after for the very ſame ſort of Treaſon. In another Nobleman it was Treaſon, to have preſerved the Image of Caſſius amongſt thoſe of his Anceſtors; Treaſon in the two brothers ſirnamed Petræ, both illuſtrious Roman Knights, to have dreamed ſomething about Claudius; Treaſon in Appius Silanus, that Meſſalina the Empreſs,

and

and Narciſſus the freedman, had forged a dream concerning him; and, to add no more, it was Treaſon, it was Majeſty violated, for a poor diſtreſſed Lady to have bewailed the blood of her ſon, ſpilt to ſatiate an implacable Tyrant incenſed by his gay raillery. This was Fuſius Geminus lately Conſul; and his ancient mother was murdered for bewailing the murder of her child [f].

DISCOURSE VII.

Of the Accuſations, and Accuſers under the Emperors.

Sect. IV. The peſtilent Employment of theſe Men, their Treachery and Encouragement.

FROM Law thus perverted there aroſe encouragement more than enough for Informers and Accuſers, and a plentiful harveſt: a ſort of men, ſays Tacitus, born for the deſtruction of mankind, and by no terrors or penalties ever ſufficiently reſtrained; yet by the Emperor ſuch ſons of perdition were ſought out and invited by great rewards. Tiberius had the front to tell the Senate, that theſe inſects, enemies to Law and Liberty, were the Guardians and Defenders of the Laws. They were his Defenders, if he pleaſed; the Champions of Imperial Violence and Luſt; but the Peſts of the Public; dogs of Prey thirſting after the blood and fortunes of every worthy and every wealthy man. That Prince who does not puniſh In-

[f] Fœminæ ob lacrymas incuſabantur; necataque eſt Vitia Fuſii Gemini mater, quod filii necem fleviſſet.

formers,

formers, encourages them, ſaid Domitian; but this he ſaid in the beginning of his Reign while he yet retained the appearances of benevolence and humanity; afterwards when the diſguiſe was taken off, and he followed the bent of his brutal nature, it was enough to ruin any man, if he were but charged to have done ſome deed, or ſpoke ſome word, no matter what, againſt the Majeſty of the Prince. Men were then capitally arraigned, and the eſtates were ſeized of both the living and the dead, for any fault whatſoever, upon the credit of any Accuſer whatſoever; and inheritances, to which he could have no poſſible title or pretence upon earth, were uſurped by him, if there was but one perſon, one Informer, who could ſay, that he heard the deceaſed declare Cæſar to be his heir. The ſame pretence ſerved Caligula; nay, when people had out of fear named him amongſt their heirs, he wondered at their impudence to keep him out of his ſhare by living afterwards, and for that offence poiſoned many ſuch. In ſhort the chief and moſt frequent incidents in the Reigns of almoſt all the Cæſars, were but the bloody efforts and ſucceſs of the Accuſers; and the ground-work and ſupport of all accuſations, was the perverted Law of violated Majeſty, which came to ſignify every thing which the Accuſers averred and the Emperors diſliked.

In the beginning of Tiberius's Reign, L. Piſo, one of the boldeſt men then ſurviving, owned himſelf ſo much intimidated by the mercileſs purſuits of the Impleaders, who breathed nothing but terror and accuſations, that he threatned in open Senate to relinquiſh Rome and retire into ſome diſtant corner of the earth. He had reaſon for his complaint and fears, he was afterwards marked out as a victim and prey by one of the tribe, and arraigned for certain words ſecretly dropped againſt the Majeſty of the

Prince,

Prince. Theſe accuſations were no other or better than the cruel Proſcription continued; by the latter, Senators and Knights, Patriots obnoxious to the Uſurpers, were butchered in the lump; afterwards, under the proceſs of the Accuſers, they periſhed piece-meal, but were inceſſantly periſhing [a], often a great many at a time. Every Law of the old free State, and every man who loved his Country and her Laws, were repugnant to the reigning Tyranny; hence as the Republic was ſwallowed up in the Sovereignty of the Cæſars, all her laws were made to center in that of Majeſty, and all men who adhered or were ſuſpected to adhere to the ancient Conſtitution, were either deſtroyed by this new Law (rather an old Law turned into a new ſnare) or at the mercy of its Guardians and Accuſers. And all this new violence was committed under old names and conſtitutions [b]; ſo that the Commonwealth was made to cut her own throat; juſt as cruel and ambitious men juſtify Perſecution and Oppreſſion by the authority of the Goſpel, which abhors it. The Church of Rome calls every thing that diſpleaſes her, Hereſy and Blaſphemy; this is the Lex Majeſtatis of ſome Churchmen, and by cruelties committed under that name they have more than vied with the Nero's and Domitian's. Thus, after a ſolemn murder committed by the Senate, to gratify Tiberius, he ſent them a Letter of thanks, for puniſhing a perſon who was an enemy to the Commonwealth; as if the Republic had been then ſubſiſting and vindicating her own wrongs.

The Accuſers were the agents and tools of Tyranny, and by the Tyrants upheld and animated

[a] Quem diem vacuum pœna ubi inter ſacra & vota, vincla & laqueus inducantur.

[b] Proprium id Tiberio fuit, ſcelera nuper reperta priſcis verbis obtegere.

with

with open countenance and high rewards; their buſineſs was to hunt down and deſtroy every man ſignal for blood, or wealth, or dignity, or virtue; becauſe all ſuch men were obnoxious to imperial Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure. Had a noble Roman ſuſtained public Offices? he was a dangerous man; had another refuſed to bear them? he was equally dangerous; and for public Offices either exerciſed or declined, he was ſure to be attacked as a criminal of State; and if he were conſpicuous for any notable ability or virtue, his doom was inevitable [c]. Valerius Aſiaticus periſhed becauſe he had delightful Gardens, which tempted the avidity of Meſſalina; as did Statilius Taurus, for the ſame reaſon, by the avarice and ſubornation of Agrippina; ſo did Sextus Marius for his immenſe Wealth and gold Mines, under Tiberius. This gives one an idea of the terrible ſpirit of the Emperors as well as of the Accuſers; how much the former feared and hated, and how faſt they deſtroyed every thing that was noble, good, or amiable amongſt men; and what a peſtilent employment was that of an Accuſer! Was it any wonder that to carry on ſo deteſtable a trade, they were to be tempted with lucrative earnings? In truth, their recompences were ſo public and ample, that they were deteſted not more for their Iniquities than for the Wages of their Iniquities.

Theſe Peſts of Rome were, for being ſo, frequently raiſed to the higheſt Offices in the Roman State; and that Imperial City, the Miſtreſs of the Earth, ſaw her public Dignities, thoſe of the Pontificate, and of the Conſulſhip, beſtowed as ſpoils upon Parricides for ſpilling her beſt blood, and tearing her vitals. With the Prince their credit was high, as their merit was infamous; ſome were

[c] Nobilitas, opes, omiſſi geſtique honores, pro crimine; & ob virtutes certiſſimum exitium.

pre-

preferred to be Governors of the Provinces, others taken to be his chief Confidents and Counſellors in the Palace. And thus, veſted with credit and ſway, exerting all their terrors, and purſuing their hate, they controuled and confounded all things [d]. After the tragical Death of Libo Druſus, procured by execrable Artifices, Falſhoods, Horrors and wreſted Laws, all the ſubſtance of that noble Patrician was divided amongſt his Accuſers; and ſuch of them as were Senators were created Prætors, even without the regular method of election. The four Senators who enſnared Titius Sabinus, by trapanning, lurking, feigned friendſhip, and by a ſeries of treachery the moſt infamous and cruel that could be practiſed amongſt men, and afterwards accuſed him, engaged in all this meritorious villainy purely to gain the Conſulſhip, to which there was no poſſible acceſs but through Sejanus, nor without villainy was the favour of Sejanus to be ſought or purchaſed.

But beſides rewarding of the Accuſers out of the fortune of the Accuſed, (for where they had not all, they ſtill went ſhares with his children) they had frequently exceſſive ſums out of the public Treaſury; Capito Coſſutianus had near a hundred and thirty thouſand Crowns, for accuſing Thraſea Petus; Eprius Marcellus had ſo much, for the ſame good ſervice; for Nero, after he had long wallowed in the blood of eminent men, and butchered them without number, was in hopes by the murder of Thraſea and Soranus, to extirpate Virtue, name and eſſence, from the face of the earth. Oſtorius Sabinus, the Accuſer of Soranus, had indeed a leſs reward in money, that of thirty thouſand Crowns; but the reward was enhanced by the ornaments of the Quæſtorſhip preſented with it. ‘ Theſe Incendiaries

[d] Agerent, verterent cuncta, odio & terrore.

‘ were

'were animated, and such crying calamities to the 'public were excited by the Minions of the Court, 'who, as it were, sounded the Trumpet to Ar-'raignments and Confiscations; on purpose, that 'out of the fortunes of the condemned they might 'raise or increase their own;' says Am. Marcellinus. Aquilius Regulus, an upstart and a mischievous Accuser under Nero, was distinguished with two Consulships, and the dignity of Pontiff; and had premiums in money to the value of more than two hundred thousand Crowns; as if he had been burying the Commonwealth, and for this merit had afterwards gathered her spoils, says Tacitus.

Sect. II. The traiterous Methods taken to circumvent and convict Innocence. The spirit of accusing how common, the dread of it how universal; and the misery of the Times.

AS upon these bloody occasions, it was necessary to find or feign some crime; so any crime served the turn, as I have largely shewn; witnesses also must be had; but any witnesses were good witnesses; and where they did not offer themselves, they were bought with money, or frightened with the torture. Slaves were suborned against the life of their Lords; clients and freedmen against their Patrons; and he who had no enemy, was betrayed and undone by his friends [e]. Now, because, by the old Roman laws, slaves could not be witnesses against their masters, the crafty Tiberius found a trick to evade that law without seeming to violate it; he contrived to have the slaves upon such occasion sold; and then they might be evidence against their late Lord. This perfidious subtilty was begun by Augustus, as

[e] Corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti, & quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi.

is largely ſhewn by Dion Caſſius. Nay, when a man had no other to accuſe him, he was accuſed by his own ſon. Dreadful times! even, all rewards and incitements apart, fear for themſelves made men treacherous to others; falſhood and cruelty reigned uncontrouled. If you would pleaſe the Prince, you muſt gratify his bloody ſpirit; to do that, you muſt offer victims and exerciſe the trade of accuſing; if you were ill with him, no man, no innocence could protect you; and to be well with him, you muſt make all other men deteſt you. To make your own fortune you muſt ruin that of others, and ſhed blood to get money.

To this vile employment men of the higheſt Quality deſcended, and thoſe of the firſt note for Eloquence and Civil Accompliſhments; ſuch was Cotta Meſſalinus, a man nobly born, but the foremoſt in every ſanguinary motion; ſuch was Publius Dolabella, who ſprung from Anceſtors the moſt illuſtrious, yet debaſed his Nobility, and engaged in the occupation of an Accuſer, even againſt thoſe of his own blood. When men of ſuch Quality ſet ſuch example, what wonder if numbers followed it? Many purſued it for money; others becauſe they would not become obnoxious by appearing ſlack. The queſtion was not about right or wrong, Law or Magiſtracy; but how to pleaſe and humour, to ſatiate the Emperor, and to eſcape his ſuſpicion and fury. It was the plea of the Accuſers afterward, when they were brought to anſwer for their crimes, that they were obliged by the Emperors, or their wives, to undertake and proſecute accuſations: this Suilius pleaded, and urged the imperious orders of Meſſalina. Nay, men of figure were ſometimes called upon by the Emperor in perſon to undertake Accuſations. This, ſays Tacitus, was one of the moſt baneful and deadly evils of thoſe times, that the firſt Lords of the Senate degraded

graded themſelves to the office of the vileſt Informers; ſome impudently in the face of the ſun; others in the dark ways of treachery; no diſtinction of kindred from ſtrangers, of friends from ſuch as were unknown; none between things lately tranſacted, and ſuch as were covered by a courſe of years in oblivion; for words ſpoken in the Forum, ſpoken at an entertainment, and about what ſubject ſoever ſpoken, the ſpeaker was accuſed; every one haſtening to be foremoſt in the accuſation, and to prevent his fellows; ſome for their own ſafety, many, as it were, ſtruck with the contagion, and ſmitten with the diſeaſe of accuſing.

This univerſal treachery begot apprehenſion in all men equally univerſal. When villainy was thus rewarded, or thus neceſſary, and thus every-where practiſed by high and low, every man was fearful of finding every man a villain. Hence the mournful anguiſh and terror which ſeized the City; people were afraid to converſe, nay, afraid to meet; they diſtruſted all alike, their acquaintance as well as the unknown; even things mute and inanimate were dreaded; and roofs and walls created terror and circumſpection; nay, they were apprehenſive that guilt might be found in theſe their apprehenſions, and thence came to dread this very thing, that they had ſhewn dread [f].

Sect. III. Plots feigned or true, an ample field for Accuſations and Cruelty; and upon what miſerable Evidence Executions were decreed.

BUT the beſt market for Accuſations, and the beſt opportunity for the Emperor to exert Tyranny, and conſume men, was the detection of any

[f] Id ipſum paventes, quod timuiſſent.

Conſpiracy forged or real. How prodigious and mercileſs was the ſlaughter committed by Conſtantius after the death of Magnentius, and by his bloody inſtrument Paulus, ſirnamed Catena from his dexterity in calumny and accuſations! Thus too, upon the detection of the deſigns of Sejanus againſt Tiberius, who at one time, for a courſe of years, had deſtroyed every man that was obnoxious to this execrable Favourite of his, and afterwards deſtroyed every man who had been well with his Favourite; thus when thoſe of Piſo againſt Nero came to be diſcovered, the whole buſineſs of the State was that of accuſing, impriſoning and executing. Rome was dyed, deformed, and filled with blood, and death, and funerals; and as many as were hated, or diſliked, or worth deſtroying upon any account, were ſure to have been Conſpirators, and to be doomed to the pains annexed to Conſpiracy. Tiberius cauſed a general ſlaughter to be made of all that were in priſon, under accuſation of intelligence with Sejanus. Any thing upon earth, the lighteſt, the moſt fortuitous and fooliſh thing, ſerved for proof of ſuch intelligence. Pomponius Secundus was arraigned of Treaſon, for that there were ſome ſigns (but not ſhewn by him neither) of friendſhip between him and Aetius Gallus, who was a friend to Sejanus, who was a Traytor. Gallus, upon the execution of Sejanus, had retired into the Gardens of Pomponius: this was all; yet this was the doughty argument uſed by his Accuſer, for proving this worthy and accompliſhed man a Traytor, one who had violated Majeſty. Yet his Accuſer Conſidius was a man conſiderable enough to have been Prætor: it was thus, I ſuppoſe, he ſhewed how well he deſerved Imperial Favour, and one of the higheſt Dignities in the State.

The Emperor Conſtantius was as cruel and as credulous: with him it was death to be accuſed, and

and every Accuſation, however doubtful, or falſe, or even whiſpered, was convincing proof of guilt; nay, the leaſt rumour, however groundleſs, the ſmalleſt hint, however ſpiteful, created Treaſon and death without redemption; and by no better proof men of the firſt quality and merit were doomed to confiſcation, or baniſhment, or execution. The bare ſaying that ſuch a one was in the Conſpiracy, or a friend to the Conſpirators, was conviction in abundance for taking away Eſtates and Lives. Nero, whoſe chief and only purpoſe was to afflict and deſtroy, created guilt whereſoever he found diſtaſte. His own hatred or fear was crime enough, and reaſon ſufficient to deſtroy the object. Some were ſacrificed without being once accuſed, or named; ſome puniſhed ere they knew they were accuſed; and the leaſt defamation was full conviction. Nothing was more common than to charge any great man, doomed beforehand to deſtruction, with deſigns againſt the State. This was the charge upon Libo Druſus. All the guilt that could be proved upon him, though to prove it, and indeed to create it, the moſt villainous arts were uſed, was, that he had conſulted the Fortune-tellers, and dealt in Charms. This was conſpiring againſt the State, it was Treaſon; and becauſe the Romans were much addicted to ſuch ſort of Superſtition, this became a very convenient Treaſon, and very fertile; yet Tiberius himſelf was, as much as any, addicted to Aſtrology. In the accuſations particularly againſt great Ladies, who for blood, or wealth, or beauty, merited Imperial Wrath, it was a conſtant article, that they had dealt with the Chaldeans, or practiſed the rites of Magic: and for this many great Ladies were doomed to death [g].

[g] Ob hæc mors indicta.

Sect. IV. What ridiculous Cauſes produced capital Guilt. The ſpirit of the Emperor CONSTANTIUS; with ſomewhat of his Father CONSTANTINE.

THIS humour of conſulting the Aſtrologers, ſtill encreaſing with Superſtition and Tyranny, adminiſtered an inexhauſtible fund of crimes and accuſations: the noiſe of a Mouſe in a wall, or the ſight of a Weaſel, became matters of omen and conſultation, and conſequently matters of Treaſon and Blood: ſo did the uſe of an old Woman's Charm for aches: ſo did the counting the Vowels upon one's Fingers, as a remedy againſt the Colic: ſo did the wearing of an Amulet for an Ague: ſo did the caſual dropping of any Word or Joke, that bore any analogy to the Empire, or the Emperor's name, or to any matter of State and Power: ſo did the frequenting of Sepulchres, and carrying away the bones or habiliments of the dead: ſo did any Dream dreamt about any ſuch ſubject, or conſtrued to be ſo dreamed.

Under Conſtantius there was one Mercurius, a Perſian, who was a favourite of the Emperor, and a ſpy for Dreams; inſomuch that he had the title of Somniorum comes. This bleſſed inſtrument, a fellow of a malicious ſpirit, and fawning behaviour, uſed to creep into all companies and banquets, to fiſh out Dreams from particulars; and whatever he there learned of this kind, after he had, with all his invention, dreſſed it up in ugly and formidable colours, he carried inſtantly to the Emperor, whoſe ears were ever open wide to ſuch miſchievous infuſions; and this Dreaming, thus repreſented, was a crime to be expiated only by the blood of the Criminal, I ſhould ſay, Dreamer, and ſo a terrible proceſs was formed. This terror ſpread ſo much, that people,

people, far from telling their Dreams, durſt ſcarce own that they ſlept: nay, it was lamented by ſome, that they had not been born upon Mount Atlas, where, according to tradition, people never dream.

To complain too of the badneſs of the times, was high Treaſon; for this was arraigning the Government, and puniſhed capitally. But Death itſelf, however unjuſt, was not always the moſt formidable woe. The accuſed were often not allowed the benefit of Death, till they were firſt barbarouſly racked and mangled by torture; and to gratify the inhuman Vengeance of the Prince, their Agonies were continued as long as life could continue under them [h]. This is teſtified by Ammianus Marcellinus of Conſtantius the ſecond Chriſtian Emperor, more cruel than Nero and Caligula; a conſideration which confirms what I have ſaid before, that where the Government is bad, even the beſt Religion can do little good. Conſtantius was a Chriſtian, and even zealous in Church Matters, and Religious Diſputes, and by foſtering them did miſerably afflict Chriſtianity and the Empire. But he was ſo far from being improved or bettered by this zeal, that the moſt cruel Tyrants that went before him, ſuch monſters as Caligula, Domitian, and Commodus, were but babes to him in cruelty [i].

I wiſh much better things could be boaſted of his Father, the firſt Emperor who embraced Chriſtianity, and ſtiled Conſtantine the great. All the Princes, even the perſecuting Princes who went before him, hurt not Religion ſo much as he did; by blending it unnaturally with Politics and Power, by laying the foundations of a ſpiritual Tyranny, and enabling the Biſhop of Rome, and other great Prelates, to

[h] Mortemque longius in puniendis quibuſdam, ſi natura permitteret, conabatur extendi.

[i] Caligulæ, & Domitiani, & Commodi immanitatem facile ſuperabta, *ſays the ſame* Ammianus.

exert the domineering ſpirit, which before they had but ill concealed; a ſpirit which has almoſt extinguiſhed that of the Goſpel. In his Civil Adminiſtration, he was rapacious, profuſe, and oppreſſive; and in his Family barbarous and ſanguinary; however his partial and flattering Hiſtorian, Euſebius, has extolled him, and concealed the iniquities of his Reign. But, in barbarity, and the exceſſes of Power, his ſon and Succeſſor Conſtantius exceeded him. What juſt reaſon had Ammianus to ſay, that under the lying pretence of guarding Imperial Majeſty, numerous and horrible were the butcheries then committed [k]!

Sect. V. The black and general carnage made under CONSTANTIUS, by his bloody Miniſter PAULUS CATENA, for certain Acts of Superſtition and Curioſity.

CONSTANTIUS ſurrendered at one time a great part of the Roman World to the mercileſs hands of Accuſers, Torturers and Executioners; and certain cauſes, in themſelves frivolous and contemptible, but magnified with the ſwelling imputation of Majeſty violated, produced all the uproar and calamity attending a great Civil War. The trumpets ſounded to try and ſlay [l].

An Egyptian Deity, named Beſa, was noted for uttering Oracles, and telling fortunes, and thence much frequented, adored and conſulted by all the Countries round about. As many conſulted him in

[k] Per ſimulationem tuendæ Majeſtatis imperatoriæ multa & nefanda perpetrabantur.

[l] Ad vicem bellorum civilium inflabant litui quædam colorata læſæ Majeſtatis crimina——materiam autem in infinitum quæſtionibus extendendis dedit occaſio vilis & parva.

perſon,

perſon, others did it in writing: this occaſioned, that ſeveral of the billets thus ſent, continued in the Temple after the anſwer was returned. Some of theſe were maliciouſly tranſmitted to the Emperor, a Prince of a poor ſpirit, ſuſpicious, and bitter. He now waxed fierce and wrathful, and inſtantly diſpatched his execrable inſtrument, Paulus Catena, into the Eaſt, armed with Powers equal to thoſe given to ſome famous Captain for carrying on a mighty war. Paulus was authorized to hear and determine diſcretionally, and proceeded to his charge, breathing nothing but rage, and bloody zeal. Univerſal accuſation and calumny being thus licenſed and encouraged, numbers of all degrees were dragged from far and near, as it were, out of the ſeveral quarters of the world, to this barbarous Tribunal, and expoſed to the mercy of a butcher, who only purſued blood and prey. Some came with their joints excoriated with fetters, others cruſhed and ſpent in carts made for carrying criminals; no diſtinction made between the noble and vulgar. The proceſs was long and tragical; in ſhort, confiſcations, exiles, tortures worſe than death, death under tedious torments, and every evil painful or deſtructive to human nature, was there exerted and ſuffered. As for Paulus, the lives, and fortunes, and fate of multitudes depended upon his nod, a man ſkilled in the Arts of cruelty, and openly profeſſing them; a ſavage who made a market of the rack and the wheel; one, fed, as it were, with human carcaſſes mangled, and enriched by butchery and rapine; a fellow who avowed the trade of accuſing and killing, and ſtudied to enſnare and devour innocence, lives, and property. This was the man in high favour and truſt under the pious Conſtantius. It will be a relief to the Reader to know that this monſter, bloated with blood and

crimes, was burnt alive under Julian, a Prince of very different parts and ſpirit.

Sect. VI. The Ravages of the Accuſers continued; their Credit with the Emperors; yet generally meet their Fate. The Falſehood of theſe Princes. The melancholy State of thoſe Times.

THE Reigns of theſe following Princes, Conſtantius, Conſtans, Gallus, Valentinian, Valens, were ſpent in a continual war upon their people, under colour of their Majeſties being violated.

Crying and tragical were the ravages committed at Rome by that bloody man Maximinus, where, under pretence of Majeſty violated, poiſonings, and acts of lewdneſs, ſome few real, more imputed, were uſed as a ſtale for killing, torturing, and deſtroying. Every man, or woman, that was obnoxious to him or the Accuſers, was put to death; and to private malice or rapaciouſneſs a ſea of Roman blood was ſpilt. I think it was this Maximinus, who perſuaded certain perſons accuſed to confeſs and diſcover others, and in that caſe promiſed they ſhould undergo no puniſhment either by ſword or fire. They did ſo, truſting to his faith, and confeſſed crimes never committed; he then, for a ſalvo, doomed them to die under leaden hammers. He was executed himſelf under Gratian.

Againſt the defence of innocence accuſed, againſt the moſt evident truth and juſtice, and all honeſt information, the ears of the Emperor were eternally ſhut; but calumny whiſpered by any malignant, had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentic witneſſes; ſays Ammianus. Falſehood and flattery, envy and rapaciouſneſs paſſed for evidence; juſtice was converted into cruelty, and judg-

ment into rage; the Tribunals erected for juſtice, and preſervation of life and property, were become ſhambles, and what had the names of pains and penalties, was in truth robbery and aſſaſſination.

As there was never any lack of Accuſers, there was none of Criminals; and the accuſed, the more they were deſtroyed, the faſter they multiplied; like witches in former days, daily executed, and daily increaſing. They were the food and revenue of the Accuſers, who while they could ſpeak and lie, could never want occupation or wages, as long as there were Tyrants and men. Marcellus was charged with having uttered diſaffected words concerning Tiberius, and the Accuſer collecting every thing which was deteſtable in the manners of that Prince, alledged the ſame as the imputations of the accuſed. A large field for accuſations, and well cultivated by the Accuſers! you could ſay nothing of theſe Emperors that was true, but what was Treaſon; ſuch bloody monſters were they all! and the worſt you could have ſaid being actually true, you were eaſily believed to have actually ſaid it. What a bleſſed lot it muſt have been to have lived in thoſe Reigns, under monſters unchained, and rogues let looſe; when virtue and property were proſcribed, villains careſſed and guarded!

The perſons of Accuſers came to be conſidered as ſacred and inviolable; the more they were deteſted by the public, the more they were protected by the Emperor; and in proportion as they merited death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vileſt forgeries, convicted and owned, againſt the lives and fortunes of the greateſt men, drew down no doom or penalty upon them. The crimes charged upon Fonteius, late Proconſul of Aſia, by Serenus, were proved to have been by him forged; yet he eſcaped puniſhment. Nay, the more the man was abhorred by all men, the

more Tiberius conſidered and protected him. This Serenus was a villain of exalted merit; he had falſly accuſed his own father of Treaſon, an old man, and already in exile: but Tiberius owed him a ſpite, and the ſon ſtudied to oblige Tiberius, who had been offended with the elder Serenus for once upbraiding him with ſome wicked ſervice unrewarded; nor had an interval of eight years pacified the Prince. Yet it generally ſo happened, that their reign was but temporary; firſt or laſt moſt of them found the genuine wages of their fraud and iniquity, and ſuffered the ſame doom which they had made others ſuffer; a doom much more bitter, as it was juſt, accompanied alſo with univerſal hatred of their perſons, and with a guilty and upbraiding conſcience. This was the fate of Suilius, Caſſius Severus, and others.

Now as it was the cuſtom, to find high Treaſon in harmleſs words, impertinent vanities, and even in ridiculous follies, deſerving rather pity than puniſhment, ſuch as were thoſe charged upon Libo; ſo it was the purpoſe and policy of the Emperor never to prevent any guilt of this kind: on the contrary, he was glad of guilt, and when he knew it was begun, let it run on, till it was ripe, and evidence and Accuſers were ready. Tiberius knew that Libo dealt with the Aſtrologers, with every thing done or ſaid by him; yet at no time had he careſſed Libo more, than at the time when he was meditating his deſtruction. He preferred him to the Prætorſhip; he entertained him at his table; ſhewed no ſtrangeneſs in his countenance, no reſentment in his words; ſo deeply had he ſmothered his vengeance! and when he might have reſtrained all the dangerous Speeches and Practices of Libo, he choſe rather to permit them, in order to puniſh him for them. The crafty Tyrant did not only lull aſleep his deſtined victim by his exceſſive civilities; but

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meant by them to deceive the world, as if Libo's crimes were a ſurpriſe upon him, at a juncture when he would ſeem to have meant all kindneſs to Libo. But he was miſtaken, and his diſſimulation only ſerved to heighten the opinion of his malice; for craft diſcovered is worſe than folly, as folly never creates hatred. Cunning is only then compleat, when it cannot be detected, which ſeldom happens. Nero careſſed and flattered Seneca, while he was deviſing all methods to deſtroy him. When he meant to murder his mother, never was there ſuch a ſcene of falſe fondneſs as that which he played. He was formed by nature, ſays Tacitus, and by habit nurtured, to hide his hate under inſidious blandiſhments. Domitian uſed to treat with the utmoſt good humour and tenderneſs ſuch as he intended to murder; nor was there any warning or interval between his careſſing you and delivering you to the Executioner; nor a more certain ſign that a tragical doom awaited you, than the Prince's gentle behaviour towards you. Well might Suetonius ſay, that his cruelty was not only exceſſive, but ſly, and inſtantaneous.

Now under ſuch a torrent of Accuſations, under Laws perverted, Informers buſy, employed, protected and rewarded, when all things were crimes, and all men were feared, nay, when fear itſelf was a crime, (for when Caligula murdered his brother, he gave it for a reaſon, that the youth was afraid of being murdered) when ſervants and neighbours, nay, acquaintance and kindred, were all juſtly to be ſuſpected; we need not admire that all offices of friendſhip and compaſſion were ſuſpended amongſt men, and compaſſion itſelf, as it were, extinguiſhed. When Libo Druſus, ſo often already mentioned, upon his arraignment for Treaſon, went in mourning from houſe to houſe to ſolicit the interpoſition of his relations (as all the great families in Rome

Rome were ſo) and to pray their aid, when his life and all was at ſtake; they all declined it to a man, each alledging a reaſon of his own, but every one in reality from the ſame cauſe, namely, their fear of the Emperor [m].

People muſt not only ſhew no ſorrow or ſympathy for their murdered relations, but they muſt teſtify joy, unleſs they had a mind to be murdered themſelves; as under Nero, many, whoſe neareſt relations had been murdered by him, repaired to the Temples with thankſgiving and offerings, and when the City was filled with corps, ſo was the Capitol with victims. In that mighty carnage made by Tiberius of the friends and followers of Sejanus at once; when the pavements were covered with ſingle carcaſſes, or filled with carcaſſes in piles, thoſe of every ſex and age, many that were noble, many that were mean, all caſt abroad promiſcuouſly; neither their acquaintance nor kindred were allowed to approach them, or to bewail them, or even at laſt to behold them. About the coarſes ſpies were placed, to watch countenances, and the ſigns of ſorrow: and when, after they became putrified and noiſome, and were thrown into the Tiber, whether they floated in the ſtream, or were caſt upon the banks, none would touch them, none durſt bury or burn them. The force of Fear had cut off all the commerce and offices of Humanity; and the more Tyranny raged, the more human compaſſion was extinguiſhed [n]. Even the outrageous Caligula had ſo well learned to hide his heart, that when by the cruelty of Tiberius, his mother and both his brothers were condemned and baniſhed, not a word eſcaped him; nor a groan; though all arts were

[m] Abnuentibus cunctis, cum diverſa prætenderent, eadem formidine.

[n] Interciderat ſortis humanæ commercium vi metus; quantumque ſævitia gliſceret, miſeratio arcebatur.

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uſed to draw words and reſentment from him. Octavia too, the wife of Nero, when her little innocent brother was murdered before her face, by the direction of the Tyrant her huſband, had even then learned, young as ſhe was, to ſmother all ſymptoms of tenderneſs and ſorrow, and every affection of the ſoul; nay, Agrippina, with all her courage and high ſpirit, laboured to hide her ſurpriſe and dread, and every other emotion, upon that occaſion.

Sect. VII. The increaſe of Tyranny. Innocence and guilt not meaſured by the Law, but by the Emperor's Pleaſure and Malice.

ONE would think that Tyranny had by this time gone as far as it could go, and that after this, human cruelty and terrors could be ſtrained no higher. But this is a miſtake, Flatterers and Accuſers were ingenious villains, and Tyranny is a monſter never glutted; it is ſtill craving for new butchery and victims; its purveyors therefore are ever ſtudying to humour and pamper it [o]. Who could have imagined any thing upon earth more intenſely cruel than Tiberius? yet his Succeſſors exceeded him and one another in cruelties, for number and quality; and Domitian committed ſuch as had eſcaped even the preceding monſters. Hence Tacitus ſays; 'As our fore-fathers had ſeen the 'ultimate point and laſt efforts of public Liberty; 'it was reſerved to us of this generation to behold 'the utmoſt weight and ſeverity of public Bondage; 'ſince by the terrors of State Inquiſitors, we were 'even bereft of the common intercourſe of Civil 'Life, that of diſcourſing ourſelves, and of liſten-

[o] Metus principis rimantur, & ſævitiæ adrepunt.

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'ing to the diſcourſe of others:' he adds, 'we 'ſhould have alſo loſt the uſe of memory, as well 'as the habit of ſpeaking, had it been equally in our 'power to forget as to be ſilent.'

The trial of perſons for Treaſon went on generally in the old form, but in effect, was all reſolvable into the breaſt and good pleaſure of the Prince. According to hints from him, perſons were condemned or acquitted; ſometimes by his interpoſing the Tribunitial Power, they were not admitted to be accuſed; ſometimes Treaſon was found in one man's words and actions, which in another were not allowed to be criminal. Thus men were ſentenced, or abſolved, or not accuſed, not according to their guilt or innocence, but to their degree of grace or diſlike with the Emperor, who had the Prerogative to coin guilt and innocence, and invert one into the other, as he pleaſed. Thus Tiberius purſued Veſtilius to death, his brother's ancient friend and his own, for ſuſpicion of having lampooned his Nephew Caligula; but would not allow Cotta Meſſalinus to be a criminal for the ſame offence and for many more. But Cotta had merit, he was always foremoſt in every bloody Counſel; all his wickedneſs and crimes were ſo many ſervices, and ſo much merit. In thoſe days there was no ſure guilt but that of worth and of virtue, and innocence: hence the ſecurity of all men egregiouſly miſchievous. The known cruelty of the Prince, was no terror to thoſe who took care to eſcape it, by the vileneſs of their lives; eſpecially if they were active to feed his cruelty by noble ſacrifices; like Haterius Agrippa, who meditated in the midſt of his cups and harlots the deſtruction of illuſtrious men. The worſt and vileſt men in the Empire, became the ſecureſt, and often the higheſt, by deſtroying the beſt.

Sect.

Sect. VIII. What TACITUS means by Inſtrumenta regni.

BESIDES the Accuſers, who were the Imperial Bloodhounds, to hunt men down for words, conjectures, ſigns, and appearances, by ridiculous pleas, forced conſtructions, and wreſted Laws; the Emperors had other peſtilent tools called by Tacitus Inſtrumenta regni, the Inſtruments of Imperial Rule. Theſe were the Poiſoners and Aſſaſſins. When there was no room or pretence to accuſe a perſon ſignal for worth or opulence, or on any account obnoxious, and thence fit to be deſtroyed; or when it was unſafe to accuſe him; recourſe was had to a doſe or dagger. Such were P. Celer, and Ælius the Freedman, they who poiſoned Julius Silanus, by the appointment of Agrippina: ſuch was Anicetus, who murdered Nero's Mother, by the direction of her ſon: ſuch was Locuſta, who adminiſtred the poiſon to Claudius, a woman famous for many feats in poiſoning, and long retained for this talent, amongſt the implements of Court; it was ſhe who prepared this poiſon as well as that which deſtroyed young Britannicus: ſuch was Xenophon, Phyſician to Claudius; one who helped to diſpatch his maſter: ſuch were they who by the procurement of Livia, made away the deſcendants of Auguſtus. After the aſſaſſination of Caligula, in his apartment was found a cheſt filled with all ſorts of poiſons, ſo rapid, that when they were thrown into the ſea, they proved baneful to the fiſh; and numbers were by the tide caſt dead upon the ſhore. Such alſo were the Tribunes and Centurions, and even the Captain of the Prætorian Guards; who whenever they were ordered to ſeize and kill, never failed to obey, without any reaſon but the word of command. Thus Poſthumus Agrippa

was

was dispatched by a Centurion under Tiberius: thus Gerelanus the Tribune, was, at the head of a band of soldiers, by Nero employed to see the execution of Vestinus the Consul, a man charged with no guilt; but Nero, who hated and feared him, having neither crime nor accuser against him, and being therefore unable to assume even the false guise of a Judge, betook himself to the violence of a Tyrant.

In truth, the whole body of Prætorian Guards were kept by these Tyrants as their Assassins, to murder for them, or to secure others who did. The Turk too has his Mutes and Poisoners in the Seraglio, as well as soldiers, to execute his fury secretly, or openly. Lewis the eleventh entertained other secret Ruffians to stab and drown, besides his trusty murderer the Provost Tristan. Queen Katherine and her son Charles the Ninth, kept an Assassin, to dispatch privately such men of rank as they could find no other means to destroy; and as dark as the proceedings in the Bastile are kept, it is known what helps have been administered to the miserable prisoners there, to get rid of life, besides that of nature. Under the Reign of Lewis the fourteenth the trade of poisoning was brought to great perfection; and was suspected, with too much appearance, to have been part of the Politics of some French Ministers, as well as the bane of others.

Sect. IX. How much these Emperors hated, and how fast they destroyed all great and worthy Men. Their dread of every Man for any Reason.

THE destruction of every man who was great or good, was so common and almost certain in those tragical Reigns, that Tacitus reckons as a wonder

wonder the natural death of L. Piſo, chief Pontiff [p]. Eminent men, and eminent merit, are the dread of Tyrants. That merit and thoſe talents which, during the old Republic, would have certainly recommended a man to public Favour and public Honours, did afterwards expoſe him as certainly, to Imperial jealouſy and perſecution, generally to ruin and death; and thoſe peſtilent Accuſers, Inſtruments of public Servitude, the ſons of rapine and blood, who were now the men of faſhion and favour, and cloathed with the ſpoils of their Country, for afflicting and mangling her, and devouring her vitals, would have been then treated as public Enemies and Beaſts of prey, and doomed to the pains of Murder and Treaſon, with univerſal conſent and abhorrence.

Such a barbarous and unnatural inverſion of all Order, Law, and Righteouſneſs, accompanied the Sovereignty of the Cæſars. Auguſtus, reckoned the beſt and wiſeſt of them, though he affected to love and countenance men of parts and accompliſhments, yet limited his favours to ſuch of them as were devoted to Flattery and the Uſurpation. Hence the public Honours conferred by him upon Ateius Capito, a new man, one of ſignal Abilities, but a notorious Flatterer; nay, the Emperor raiſed him in oppoſition to Antiſtius Labeo, one who excelled in the ſame acquirements; one who never departed from a laudable freedom of ſpeech and ſpirit, and thence more applauded than the other, by the public voice: whereas, the ſuppleneſs and ſubmiſſion of Capito rendered him more acceptable to thoſe who bore rule. The latter by this merit gained the dignity of Conſul; the other, for having too much, was never ſuffered to riſe higher than that of Præ-

[p] Per idem tempus L. Piſo Pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit.

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tor. How much muſt the ſpirit of Imperial Jealouſy encreaſe afterwards?

Every thing gave theſe Tyrants fear and offence. Was a man nobly born and popular? He withdrew the affections of the People, rivalled the Prince, and threatened a Civil War [q]. Was he akin to Auguſtus? He had his eye upon the Sovereignty [r]. Had he a reputation for Arms? He was a living terror to the Prince [s]. Was a great man afraid of popularity, and lived retired? He gained fame by ſhunning it, and ſtill was an eye-ſore [t]; and his beſt fate was to leave his Country [u]; but where the exile was a conſiderable man, the executioner generally followed. Was he virtuous, and his life and morals exact? He was another Brutus, and by the purity of his manners, upbraided the vitious behaviour of the Emperor [w]. Was a man ſad? It was becauſe the adminiſtration proſpered [x]. Did he indulge himſelf in gayety and feaſting? It was becauſe the Emperor was ill, and his end thought to be near [y]. Was he rich? He was too wealthy for a ſubject, and great wealth in private hands boded

[q] Studia civium in ſe verteret; ſeceſſionem jam & partes, & ſi multi idem audeant, bellum eſſe.

[r] Nobilem, & quod tunc ſpectaretur, è Cæſarum poſteris.

[s] Oſtorius multa militari fama——metum Neroni fecerat, ne invaderet pavidum ſemper—— miſſus Centurio qui cædem ejus maturaret.

[t] Quanto metu occultior, tanto plus famæ adeptus.

[u] Conſuleret quieti urbis; eſſe illi per Aſiam avitos agros.

[w] Gliſcere ac vigere Brutorum æmulos——rigidi & triſtis, quo tibi laſcivium exprobrent.

[x] Hominem bonis publicis mœſtum.

[y] Reddendam pro intempeſtiva lætitia mœſtam & funebrem noctem, quâ ſentiat vivere Vitellium & imperare.

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ill to Princes [z]. Was he poor? He was thence the more enterprizing and desperate [a]. Was he a dull man, and unactive? He only put on the guise of stupidity and sloth, till he found room for some bloody purpose [b]. Or had he a different character, and was a lively and active man? Then it was plain he did not so much as feign a desire of private life and recess, but avowed a bustling Republican Spirit, and to be meddling with the State [c]. Did he live in pomp and magnificence? He studied to overshadow the Emperor in feats and grandeur [d]. Was he accomplished in science, a Philosopher, or master of Eloquence, and thence esteemed? The lustre of his Fame gave umbrage to the Prince [e].

In short, no man could possess any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to God or man, a blessing to his Country, to his friends, or to himself, but such quality and advantage was sure to awaken the jealousy and vengeance of these Tyrants, and procure his doom [f].

[z] Plautum magnis opibus —— auri vim atque opes principibus infensas.

[a] Syllam inopem, unde præcipuam audaciam.

[b] Simulatorem segnitiæ, dum temeritati locum reperiret.

[c] Plautum ne fingere quidem cupidinem otii, sed veterum Romanorum incitamenta præferre; assumptâ etiam Stoicorum arrogantia sectâque, quæ turbidos & negotiorum appetentes faciat.

[d] Hortorum amœnitate & villarum magnificentia quasi principem supergrederetur.

[e] Verginium & Rufum claritudo nominis expulit; nam Verginius studia juvenum eloquentiâ, Musonius præceptis sapientiæ fovebat.

[f] Omni bonâ arte in exsilium actâ, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret.

Sect. X. Reflections upon the Spirit of a Tyrant. With what Wantonneſs the Roman Emperors ſhed the blood of the Roman People. The blindneſs of ſuch as aſſiſted the Uſurpation of CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS.

HOW miſerable muſt be the reflections of a Tyrant, if he has any reflections, that numbers muſt be wretched (for what wretchedneſs is not produced by Tyranny?) that he may make a hideous figure, unſafe and deteſted? Every ſtep he takes for his grandeur and ſecurity, renders him more contemptible or abhorred, and therefore more inſecure; and the bloody end of moſt, abundantly ſhews, that numerous Guards and Armies are ſo far from ſecuring him, that from them his greateſt dread accrues. What a curſe it is upon a thinking Being, to conſider himſelf as an obſtacle to every thing lovely and deſirable amongſt men: to the Virtue, Liberty and Happineſs of all men, to his own peace and ſtability, to his own innocence and true glory: that for every chain he puts upon his People, he multiplies terrors and contempt upon his own head; and having forfeited their affections, and living in diſtruſt of thoſe whom he ought chiefly to confide in, relies for his life upon hirelings, the ſons of vice and idleneſs, or forced from their honeſt labour to be made ſo, and often picked out of ſtreets and goals? He dreads every man who is great and brave; and one who fights for him, conquers for him, and ſaves him, does but expoſe himſelf to jealouſy, indignity and martyrdom. His own ſlaves, ſpiritleſs and cowardly, cannot ſerve him, and a man truly valiant is undone by ſerving him. The people are apt to admire and magnify military virtue,

tue, and thence the Tyrant hates and dreads ſuch as have it. Charles the fifth held it a greater honour, to be Count of Catalonia, than King of the Romans: he had reaſon; the Catalans were free men and valiant; the Romans poor monk-ridden ſlaves.

But I ſhall find another place in the courſe of theſe Obſervations to diſcourſe more fully of Armies and Conqueſts: I ſhall here only obſerve with what wantonneſs theſe Tyrants ſhed the blood of Roman Citizens; Citizens whoſe lives were once ſo valuable, fenced and ſecured by Laws ſo numerous, ſo ſacred, and ſtrong; lives ſo precious that nothing againſt the life and fortune of the meaneſt Roman could be determined, but by the Romans in general, aſſembled in Centuries. Theſe Romans who, while free, became the maſters of mankind, were, by loſing their Liberty, become daily victims to their own domeſtic Traitors, and miſerable Traitors they were; to a Claudius, a Caligula, a Nero. By the ancient Conſtitution and Laws of Rome, theſe Uſurpers were the only perſons liable to be put to death, without proceſs, or form, or penalty. See the Lex Valeri in Livy, and Cicero Pro domo ſua.

Had ſuch as were Champions for the exaltation of Cæſar and Auguſtus, foreſeen what their race and deſcendants were to ſuffer under the Succeſſors of theſe Uſurpers, would it not have quenched their zeal, would it not have ſtruck them with horror? Had they foreſeen their offspring ſtooping and groaning under a beaſtly bondage, not to the Emperor only, but to his ſlaves and ſtrumpets; living a precarious life at the mercy of ſycophants; under continual terrors of the Accuſers, or themſelves exerciſing the execrable occupation of ſuch; ſome endangered by the luſtre of their name; ſome by that of their virtue and capacity, others from that of their

their wealth; many become Pimps, Pathics, and Paraſites to the Prince; ſeveral, upon his authority, proſtituting their perſons and quality upon the public Stage; numbers doomed to exile upon deſolate rocks and iſlands; numbers ſlain outright, their carcaſes expoſed and denied the privilege of burial, their fortunes ſeized from their families; and all of them liable to the like tragical fate; their wives withal daily expoſed to the luſt of the Tyrant, and afterwards made the ſubject of his Imperial Sport and Drollery, even before their injured and bluſhing huſbands, nay, proſtituted in the Palace as in the public Stews, and ſuch as paſſed by invited in to lie with theſe illuſtrious Ladies, as with common harlots, for money.

Had the Partizans of Uſurpation foreſeen theſe woful conſequences to their families from it, would it not have changed their hearts and their conduct? Yet what was eaſier to be foreſeen than the fury and ravages of a madman or fool unlimited, where chance, and not law, directed the blind Succeſſion; as did blind will, and not reaſon, the Adminiſtration? But with the heat of party and preſent impulſe, cool reflection and foreſight are incompatible: it ſcarce ever happens, that, for future conſiderations, however wiſe, the inſtant paſſion, however fooliſh, is ſmothered. The Adherents of Cæſar and Auguſtus had an immediate view of greatneſs, and would not diſturb ſo pleaſing an imagination by anxious care or fear for things future. All the world goes well with thoſe that are well; and before men can be brought to believe prophecies of miſery, they muſt begin to feel it. What a child is Man! what a name is Reaſon! The moſt frequent uſe we make of it, is to reaſon ourſelves out of it, and from it to borrow arms againſt itſelf; juſt as we have ſeen Laws quoted to vindicate the ſubverſion of Law, and the Holy Goſpel of Peace

and

and Love urged in defence of Perſecution and Enmity.

Sect. XI. Why under ſuch Tyrants, the Senate continued to ſubſiſt.

IT may be inquired why Tyrants ſo jealous and precipitate, did not aboliſh the Senate; and it was once the purpoſe of Caligula, as it was afterwards that of Nero, to have murdered all the Senators: but in truth it would have been an enterprize of infinite difficulty and danger, to have attempted the ſuppreſſion of that body. It is incredible what ſtubbornneſs and force there is in eſtabliſhed Names, Cuſtoms and Forms, which often are harder to deſtroy than realities and ſubſtances; and ſigns and titles frequently remain, when the things ſignified and denominated by them are gone. Thus Popery has extirpated Chriſtianity, and is called Chriſtianity; and Evangelical Humility and Forbearance are preached and extolled in the midſt of Pride and Flames.

As the Popes pretend to derive all power from the Goſpel, which they pervert and ſuppreſs, ſo did the other Roman Tyrants theirs from the Senate; as if the ancient free State had ſtill ſubſiſted, and to have deſtroyed the Senate, would have been to have abrogated their own title to Sovereignty. They muſt likewiſe have deſtroyed the Conſulſhip, which was ſtill reckoned ſummum Imperium, the ſupreme Magiſtracy: with the Office of Prætor, and every Office, great and ſmall, in the State, with the title and ſtile of every Law of Rome, and every Tribunal of Juſtice there: for, every Law and every Office depended upon the Senate, or upon the Senate and People. They muſt have aboliſhed Learning, Hiſtory, Records, all Proceſs and Memory; nay, the very Military Titles, and Laws of War

and Negotiation; thoſe about the Colonies and Provinces, Cuſtoms and Trade; and have introduced abſolute Oblivion, a new Language, and a new Creation.

Now what Power, what Genius upon earth, was equal to ſuch a prodigious deſign, that of vacating at once regulations and uſages ſo infinitely numerous, ſo long eſtabliſhed, become a great part of the public Language, grown, as it were, to the minds and memories of men, and eſſential to Speech and Converſation, as well as to buſineſs and protection; and then to ſupply ſuch an immenſe void, with Ordinances, Offices, Terms and manner of Proceſs, ſo as to anſwer all the ends of Society in ſo vaſt an Empire? This was not to be done, nor was it needful: they found their account ſufficiently in breaking the Power and Spirit of the Senate, in reducing it to a ſkeleton and a name, and in exerciſing under that name all their own violences and exorbitances. The Senate and the People had a venerable ſound, and ſerved as a cloak for power when they themſelves had none, and the Emperor had all [g]. The regiſtering of Edicts by the Parliament of Paris is become a matter of form; but without that form, the Court, as uncontrouled as it is, does not care to execute an Edict. The Romans ſtill preſerved a veneration for their Senate and Magiſtrates, and the ſame was often found in the Armies; inſomuch that as late as the Reign of Commodus, the ſoldiers were ſo enraged at the inſolence of Perennis, his Favourite and Miniſter, for diſcharging from their military commands ſuch as were Patricians and Senators, and for placing in their room others of Equeſtrian Rank, that they cut him in pieces.

[g] Cuncta Legum & Magiſtratuum in ſe trahens Princeps.

Time,

Time, however, with the continuance of Tyranny, and Barbarity its inſeparable companion, cancelled by degrees the old names and forms, after the eſſence had been long cancelled; and introduced a cloud of offices and words, of rumbling ſounds, and ſwelling titles, ſuitable to the genius of abſolute Rule, and as different from the purity of the old Republican Language, as are Liberty and Politeneſs from groſſneſs and bondage.

Sect. XII. How the unrelenting Cruelty of the Emperors haſtened the Diſſolution of the Empire. The bad Reigns of CONSTANTINE and CONSTANTIUS. The good Reign of JULIAN. The indiſcreet behaviour of the Chriſtians. Continued Tyranny; and end of the Empire.

TO reſume once more the ſubject of Accuſations and the abuſed Law of Majeſty; They were cankers in the heart of the Empire, which at laſt haſtened its Diſſolution. The Emperors, to gratify their own cruelty, were continually waſting the public Strength by ſacrifices noble and many; and, to ſatiate their avarice or that of their creatures, encouraged endleſs ſeizures and confiſcations. This crying Oppreſſion was by the Emperor Conſtantine, before mentioned, carried higher than any of the Pagan Emperors had ever carried it. Beſides his own rapine, which was mercileſs and exceſſive, he glutted his Favourites and Grandees with the ſpoil and fortunes of others; as Marcellinus witneſſes [h]. His ſon Conſtantius followed his example, and was a more conſuming Tyrant than the Father. I have already ſaid ſomething of his Character and Reign, which was chiefly conducted by inhuman villains,

[h] Proximorum fauces aperuit primus Conſtantinus.

whoſe heads and hands were eternally engaged in the plunder and blood of his People. Such were his Counſellors, ſuch his Governors of Provinces, which were ſucked and devoured to the bone, and might ſay with truth, what a noble Dalmatian once told Tiberius; 'Inſtead of ſending us Shepherds 'to protect our flocks, you ſend us Wolves to de-'vour them.' How many Governors in all Countries have deſerved to be hanged, before they reached their Governments, becauſe they went with deſign to rob and oppreſs?

Theſe depredations were reſtrained during the Reign of Julian, who had as much capacity, as many virtues and accompliſhments, as could well adorn private life, or a crown: he was brave, generous, wiſe, and humane; a Hero, a Philoſopher, a Politician, a Friend and Father to mankind. It is pity ſuch an amiable Character ſhould have any blots; his had two; he was ſuperſtitious even to weakneſs, and had conceived an averſion to the Chriſtians altogether unſuitable to his remarkable candor and equity; an averſion which they themſelves improved too much, by a behaviour unworthy of ſo great a Prince, much more unworthy of ſo meek a Religion. They indeed treated him with eminent ſpite and outrage, traduced him, libelled him, and even mobbed him. Nothing could be a ſharper Satire upon them, for ſuch brutiſh conduct, than the ſingular meekneſs with which he bore it. The truth is, the Chriſtians were then ſtrangely degenerated from the primitive peaceableneſs and purity, become licentious and turbulent to the laſt degree, and perpetually inſtigated by the arrogance and ambition of the Biſhops, who were come to contend with arms as well as curſes, for the poſſeſſion of opulent Churches. It was not uncommon with theſe ambitious men, to affront and revile the Emperors to their faces, to publiſh Invectives againſt them,

them, to break the public Peace and to raiſe frequent Tumults and Seditions. As they were the moſt complaiſant Courtiers when pleaſed; ſo they were the moſt implacable Incendiaries when diſguſted. All this was enough to alarm any Prince, and to awaken reſentment in the moſt flegmatic. Moreover a great part of the wealth and revenue, which uſed to go towards the public Charge, particularly to defend the Frontiers againſt the Barbarians, was diverted and appropriated to maintain the grandeur and pomp of the great Prelates; "ſacerdotes ſpecie "religionis fortunas omnes effundebant," as Tacitus ſays upon another occaſion.

As ſome parts of the behaviour of that great Prince, one wiſe and good in moſt things, but miſtaken and even unjuſt in others, chiefly towards the Chriſtians, ought to be cenſured and condemned; the behaviour of the Chriſtians towards him can never be juſtified. They inſulted him intolerably, with all the exceſſes of bitterneſs and ill-breeding, while he lived, and ſlandered and blackened him ſhamefully when dead; as much as ſome of them baſely flattered and extolled other Emperors, who, though complaiſant and liberal to the Eccleſiaſtics, were conſuming Tyrants.

It is the buſineſs of Truth and of true Religion, to give even enemies their due, and friends no more than their due. To give Julian his; if we lay aſide his Religion, I doubt whether we can find upon record one Prince that excelled him, or three that equalled him. He is indeed a pattern to Princes, in ſpite of the anger and obloquy of Writers who were apparently animated by a ſpirit then too common, a ſpirit altogether narrow, monkiſh, and vindictive; ſuch a one as the charitable Religion of Jeſus diſclaims, and wants not. To his benevolent Goſpel and Precepts I ſincerely wiſh all men to conform; but fewer ſigns of ſuch conformity, or ra-

ther greater ſigns of the want of it, have I no where ſeen, than in the Conduct, Diſcourſes, and Writeings of ſuch as have railed at others for their religious ſentiments, real or imputed. I wiſh too that a temper ſo barbarous and Antichriſtian had been entirely confined to the Days of that Emperor, whoſe Adminiſtration will for ever recommend him to all calm and impartial men, as an aſtoniſhing example of virtue and parts.

The Reign of Jovian, whoſe intention ſeems to have been honeſt and good, was but ſhort, and followed by thoſe of Valentinian and Valens; Princes exceeding furious, ſuſpicious and ſanguinary. Under them the old Accuſations, Confiſcations and Carnage were revived without mercy, and continued thenceforward, with few intervals, till the Roman Empire was quite overthrown. The People in every part of it being quite harraſſed and conſumed, finding no relaxation from Oppreſſors and Accuſations, no protection from Law, no refuge in the Clemency of the Emperors, grew deſperate, and revolted to the Goths, Huns, Vandals, and other Invaders.

Sect. XIII. The Excellency of a limited Monarchy, eſpecially of our own.

I Think it is Machiavel who obſerves, that two or three weak and bad Princes ſucceeding each other, are ſufficient to ruin a State, where they govern by mere Will; but it may ſurvive a long ſucceſſion of fooliſh Princes limited by good Laws. Veſpaſian found three hundred millions (of our money) wanting to reſtore the Empire to a condition of ſubſiſting. Monarchy, according to Plato, is the beſt Government, or the worſt: to which opinion I ſubſcribe; as I do to that of Philip De Comines, that England is the place in the world, where the Public is moſt equally adminiſtered, and where the

the people ſuffer the leaſt violence We are bleſſed with that form of Government which Tacitus mentions as the moſt perfect, and thinks the hardeſt to be framed; that happy balance and mixture of intereſts which comprehends every intereſt [i].

An Engliſh Monarch has one advantage which ſets him above any arbitrary Monarch upon earth; he obliges his ſubjects by being obliged to them. As he protects them by defending their Property and Laws; ſo they, by ſupporting him enable him to do it; while they give by choice, and not by force, they give chearfully. Princes who take all themſelves, and leave nothing to their people to give, can never be beloved by their people. If it be true that we hate thoſe whom we have hurt, it is equally true, that we are apt to love thoſe whom we have obliged. Hence God is ſaid, not only to love doing good, but to love the good that he does.

Arbitrary Princes would doubtleſs chuſe to have the love and affections of their people, were the ſame to be acquired by furious and unacountable Rule; but this is impoſſible. Hence dread of their power is all the ſhare they can expect in the hearts of their ſubjects; and this is a compliment which their ſubjects pay to things the moſt hideous and vile; to Serpents; to mad and wild beaſts; to Plagues and Satan; to Pain and Poverty. But even this miſerable compliment is not always paid to ſuch princes: they are not always dreaded. When their terrors are become habitual, they ceaſe, in a good meaſure, to be terrors; the people grow hardened and deſperate; they themſelves become ſcorned; and contempt, the moſt abject lot in life, becomes the portion of thoſe who poſſeſs the higheſt. When

[i] Cunctas nationes & urbes populus, aut primores, aut ſinguli regunt. Delecta ex his & conſtituta Reipub. forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel, ſi evenit, haud diuturna eſſe poteſt.

Nero aſked Subrius Flavius, one of the Conſpirators againſt his life, from what motives he had renounced his Allegiance; 'It was becauſe I abhor-'red thee,' ſaid he. The Conſul Veſtinius too was known to Nero, to deſpiſe his vile and unmanly ſpirit; and in the whole detection of that Conſpiracy, and the puniſhment of the conſpirators, nothing was ſo ſignal as the ſeries of contempt poured upon that brutal Tyrant, in the heighth of his Power, and amidſt the terrors of his Tyranny. Nothing, ſays Tacitus, mortified him ſo much. But when the monſter was depoſed, he incurred ſuch ſovereign ſcorn, that he was doomed to be ſtripped naked, and ſcourged to death like a ſlave, with his head faſtened in a pillory; his carcaſs to be caſt afterwards from the Tarpeian Rock, and with a hook in his noſe to be dragged to the Tiber.

Nor could the great reputation of Julius Cæſar, or that of Auguſtus, and all their Power, ſecure them from popular inſults and deſpight. The "mœ-"chum calvum," and "videſne ut cinædus orbem 'digito temperet;" were contumelies which even their greatneſs could not eſcape. Mithridates King of Armenia, when deſpoiled of his Kingdom, experienced by the behaviour of his People, how much they reverenced him; they even aſſaulted him with reproaches and blows [k]. When the Emperor Vitellius was led along to the ſlaughter, with his hands bound behind him, his habit all torn, and himſelf a filthy ſpectacle; he found much the like uſage. Numbers wounded him with reproaches; but none was found to bewail him; and the populace railed at him when dead, with the ſame baſeneſs of heart, with which they had flattered him living [l].

[k] Vulgus duro imperio habitum, probra ac verbera intentabat.

[l] Vulgus eadem pravitate inſectabatur interfectum, qua foverat viventem.

DIS-

DISCOURSE VIII.

Of the general Debaſement of Spirit and Adulation which accompany Power unlimited.

Sect. I. The motives of Flattery conſidered. Its vileneſs, and whence it begins.

I SHALL now ſay ſomething of the extreme Debaſement of the Romans under the Emperors. Flattery ever riſes in proportion to Power and Fear. Where Law and Liberty reign, and men hold not their Property and Lives at the mercy of one or a few; this ſecurity begets in them a pride and ſtubbornneſs inconſiſtent with Servility and Adulation. Men do not flatter ſuch as they dare own to be no better than themſelves, or ſuch as have no power to hurt them; nor will they pay over-much reverence to great Titles which are not accompanied with great Power, nor ſupported by ſuperſtition. For Superſtition enſlaves as effectually as real Power, and therefore confers it; nor is Tyranny ever ſo complete as when the chief Magiſtrate is chief Pontiff, as were the Soldans of Egypt and Bagdat; or, which is the next thing, can create and depoſe him, as do the Turkiſh Emperors. But where men hold their fortunes and lives at the mere mercy of another, they will fear him as much as they love themſelves, and flatter him, as much as they fear him [a]. If his Power be limited, their Flattery will be limited; but boundleſs, if his Au-

[a] Omnis exuta æqualitate, juſſa Principis aſpectare.

thority be ſo. Thus court and ſycophancy prevail leſs under a mixed Monarchy, than under one that is deſpotic; in an Ariſtocracy leſs than there; and leſs ſtill in a popular State. Perfect equality quite deſtroys it; complete Sovereignty raiſes it to the higheſt.

The more fooliſh and wicked a Prince is, the more Incenſe he will have; it is the ſureſt way of pleaſing a Tyrant, as it ſanctifies his Iniquities, and repreſents him to himſelf as worthy of all his Grandeur and equal to all the higheſt Offices of Empire. Tiberius, who was a Prince of great penetration, hated Flattery, becauſe he knew it to be ſo; as he knew that they who paid him moſt, the Senate and Grandees, dreaded, and therefore hated his Power; as he, who underſtood perfectly the nature and bleſſing of Liberty, would have dreaded and hated any man in his place, had he been in theirs. He knew that Flattery and Hate often go together; ſo that they who poſſeſs the greateſt Hate, profeſs the greateſt Affection. It is as much as their lives are worth, to manifeſt any tokens of Averſion; and the ſtronger it is, it will require the more Art and Aſſiduity to hide it. Julius Cæſar was loaded with all ſorts and every exceſs of Honours, ſome that were divine, with deſign to make him odious, while they who conferred them abhorred him, and were concerting ſchemes to deſtroy him. With the ſame view the like artifices were practiſed by the Senate towards his Succeſſor Octavius, afterwards Auguſtus, concerning whom the equivocal ſaying of Cicero, could not but be remembered by Tiberius [b], 'they ſhould extol the Youth, and take him off.' Hence though Tiberius was irreconcileable to public Liberty, he abominated Flattery [c]. He ſaw

[b] Ut juvenem laudarent, & tollerent.
[c] Libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

that

that Flattery was the meer effect of Bondage, and ſuiting only with the ſpirit of Slaves; and though he would not part with the Sovereignty (notwithſtanding he often talked of it, as well as pretended great backwardneſs to accept it) yet he was aſhamed of the vile and ſlaviſh abjectneſs of the Romans [d].

But neither under Tiberius was there any ſecurity in abſtaining from Flattery; he was a Prince infinitely jealous, and could brook no ſort of oppoſition, nor even independence; and it was both neceſſary and dangerous to flatter him; but, in my opinion, not ſo dangerous as neceſſary: I mean, to ſuch as purely conſulted their own ſafety, and to eſcape the rage of the Tyrant. It is true, he deſpiſed Flatterers; but he hurt them not: and it was natural for him to think (ſuſpicious as he was) that ſuch as would not flatter him, ſcorned him. It is certain he never forgave free ſpeakers, never could endure men of bold ſpirit, but, firſt or laſt, purſued them to deſtruction. It was perillous, ſays Tacitus, to practiſe no Flattery, and perillous to practiſe too much [e]. L. Piſo had inveighed againſt the corruptions of the State particularly againſt the peſtilent purſuits of the Impleaders, who were daily arraigning, and circumventing, and menacing all men; he even threatened to quit Rome. Tiberius bore this calmly, nay, he deſcended to mollify him with kind words. But in a ſoul like his, brooding over Vengeance, though he had ſuppreſſed the ſallies of Wrath, the deep impreſſions remained; Piſo was a good while afterwards charged with Treaſon, and, but for a natural death which opportunely intervened, muſt have ſuffered the pains of Treaſon.

[d] Etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projectæ ſervientium patientiæ tædebat.

[e] Adulatione, quæ moribus corruptis, perinde anceps ſi nulla, & ubi nimia eſt.

Aſinius Gallus incurred his rage for a motion in Senate which had really a compliment in it. Tiberius had in a Letter to the Fathers complained, that from the plots and ſnares of his enemies, he led a life full of dread and apprehenſions. Gallus propoſed to addreſs the Prince, that he would explain his fears to the Senate, and permit them to remove the cauſes; this incenſed him. Gallus too had piqued him before, and was ſuſpected by him of aſpiring views; and though he had notoriouſly flattered him, he could not by it redeem his life.

As all Corruptions in a State begin commonly from the Grandees (or rather they are beginners of all Corruption) ſo the Grandees are the moſt ſignal Flatterers; they are moſt in the eye of a Prince, they are the moſt obnoxious to his jealouſy, and thence the moſt prone to flatter him [f]. A Prince who governs or would govern by mere Will, muſt countenance and employ ſuch as aſk no reaſons for what he does; but commend all he does; and the more they have to get or loſe, the lower they muſt ſtoop, the more they muſt praiſe [g]. For this vile ſervitude of theirs they make repriſals upon the people, and are as terrible to thoſe below them, as fawning to thoſe above them; for the moſt proſtitute Slaves, are the moſt inſolent Tyrants, and it is from the ſame baſeneſs of ſpirit that men oppreſs and flatter; it was truly ſaid of Caligula, 'that there 'never lived a more complaiſant Slave, nor a more 'cruel and deteſtable Maſter.' Thus Flattery is propagated, and infects all degrees of men. The Prince awes the Grandees, and by the Grandees is flattered; the Grandees oppreſs and terrify the people; and thence the people dread and adore the

[f] Ruere in ſervitium conſules, patres, eques; quanto quis inluſtrior, tanto magis falſi ac feſtinantes.

[g] Primores civitatis quorum claritudo ſua obſequiis protegenda erat.

Gran-

Grandees. The Baſhaws are ſlaves to the great Turk; the people ſlaves to the Baſhaws.

The inſolence of ſlaviſh ſpirits is by Tacitus exemplified in Vitellius, among many other inſtances. He was always the foremoſt in Flattery; ever aſſaulting every worthy Patriot with reproaches, and ever ſtruck ſilent when repulſed; agreeably to the genius of Sycophants, to be both inſulting and cowardly. This man, however, proſpered by Proſtitution. He had great employments under Tiberius, he was a great Favourite in the two ſucceeding Reigns, he was thrice Conſul and once Cenſor. Nor did the man want good talents and qualifications; in the Government of Provinces, ſays Tacitus, he exerciſed the integrity of a primitive Roman. But his dread of Caligula, and complaiſance to Claudius, changed him into a filthy Slave, and he is handed down to poſterity as a pattern of the moſt infamous Flattery: The juſt reward of his ſervile ſubmiſſion. His firſt and beſt actions were forgot; his laſt and worſt remembered; and the excellencies of his younger years obliterated by an old age drenched in ſervitude and iniquity. Beſides his adoring Claudius as a God, he carried one of Meſſalina's ſandals in his boſom continually, frequently kiſſed it; and amongſt his houſhold Gods placed golden Statues of Pallas and Narciſſus, the Emperor's freed ſlaves. This man was, I think, father to Vitellius afterwards Emperor. Such men ſuch Princes delight in; "regibus boni quam mali "ſuſpectiores ſunt, ſemperque his aliena virtus for-"midoloſa eſt:" ſays Salluſt.

Sect. II. Men of elevated Minds irreconcileable to Arbitrary Power, and thence ſuſpected by it. The Court paid to it always inſincere, ſometimes expedient, but ſeldom obſerves any bounds.

AGRIPPA told Auguſtus, according to Dion Caſſius, that it was impoſſible for a man of great ſpirit and reſolution, to be other than a lover of Liberty, and an enemy in his heart to an abſolute maſter. Agrippa himſelf was that ſort of man; he had courage enough to adviſe that Prince to reſign the Sovereignty, and reſtore public Liberty; ſuch in truth was his credit and bravery, that Auguſtus thought himſelf no otherwiſe ſafe, than either by killing him, or taking him for his ſon-in-law. The Emperor did more than give him his daughter; he aſſumed him partner in the Tribunitial Power, which, as that Uſurper and his Succeſſors managed it, was, in effect, the Dictatorial Power. The other great men of Rome he ſuſpected and hated; though in vanity and for the praiſe of Poſterity, he left them his heirs in the third degree [h]; Auguſtus and Tiberius judged too well, to imagine that the illuſtrious Senators and Chiefs of Rome, men who had ſcorned the alliance and affinity of Kings, nay, treated Kings as their creatures and dependents, could like a blind dependence upon one of their own Citizens, who by uſurpation and violence had made himſelf an enemy to all. Even in the Reign of Tiberius there were Romans who thought themſelves as good as him; Cneius Piſo, for example, ſcarce gave place to him, and deſpiſed his ſons, as men far beneath himſelf. But his haugh-

[h] Tertio gradu primores civitatis ſcripſerat; plerique inviſos ſibi, ſed jactantia gloriaque apud poſteros.

ty

ty ſpirit coſt him his life; for though Tiberius uſed him as a proper inſtrument to thwart and overthrow Germanicus, he afterwards turned that very ſervice to the deſtruction of Piſo.

Affection can never accompany a ſubmiſſion which is forced, nor men ſubmit willingly to a Power which they think they have themſelves a right to exerciſe. Hence the compliments and praiſes of theſe eminent Romans towards the Emperors, are generally by Tacitus derived from Flattery; though ſometimes neceſſary, and ſometimes well intended; neceſſary, when uſed for their own preſervation; and well intended, when employed to inſtil into the Prince virtuous leſſons of Government. Marcus Terentius was perhaps juſtifiable, when in defence of his life, which was at ſtake, he made that high-flown compliment to Tiberius; 'To thee the Gods 'have granted the ſupreme diſpoſal of things, and 'to us have left the glory of obedience.' The Senators alſo did well in magnifying ſome popular Acts of Nero, that his youthful mind being thus incited by the Glory ariſing from light things, might court it in things which were greater. And Thraſea Petus was juſtifiable, when in his ſpeech about Antiſtius the Prætor, arraigned for Treaſon for lampooning the Emperor, he extolled that Prince's mercy, in order to make him merciful.

But as that which is only good in ſome certain degrees and exigences, ſeldom ſtops there; ſo this ſame Flattery, no wiſe blameable under ſome circumſtances, grew ſcandalous and exceſſive; it kept pace with all the phrenzy and cruelties of theſe outrageous and inhuman Tyrants; and by it their cruelties and phrenzy were encouraged. The more miſchievous and vile they were, the more they were adored. Dread of their fury had ſeized the ſouls of men; nor was any remedy ſought againſt their fury but that of Flattery. Men of ſlaviſh minds always

began

began the deteſtable rout; their example drew others after them; the lovers of liberty found it impoſſible to reſiſt the many, and unſafe to diſtinguiſh themſelves by oppoſition. Intereſt ſwayed ſome, example others, fear all, and at laſt it became a common ſtrife who ſhould be foremoſt in the race to Servitude. All public ſpirit, all regard to the glory and good of Rome, the inſeparable characteriſtic of the old free Romans, was now loſt and forgot; it was converted into fear and anxiety of every man for himſelf. This will ever be the caſe when a Prince, armed with ſufficient Powers, ſets up his own intereſt againſt that of the State; particulars having no longer any thing to do with the public, will ſtudy only to ſecure themſelves.

Sect. III. The exceſſive Power of the Imperial freed Slaves; with the ſcandalous Submiſſion and Honours paid them by the Romans.

AS Tyranny produces abject fear and anxiety in particulars for themſelves, ſo from this ſelfiſh fear and anxiety come the beginning and progreſs of univerſal Servitude, the extinction of all Patriotiſm and honeſt zeal, the power of corruption, and the ſymptoms of a State haſtening to ruin and deſolation. All the good or evil which could befal any Roman, lay wholly in the breaſt and option of the Prince; and hence the ſtudy of every man to humour the Prince, or the Slaves who governed him; for governed he generally was by ſlaves the vileſt and moſt peſtilent; yes, the whole Empire, that Empire that contained a great ſhare of the Globe, and terrified almoſt the whole, was ſwayed, ſold, oppreſſed, and exhauſted by ſlaves bought from the chain and the oar. Claudius not only declared that affairs adjudged by his Receivers ſhould be held equally valid

valid with thoſe adjudged by himſelf, but got the ſame eſtabliſhed by a ſolemn Decree of Senate. Now theſe Receivers of the Emperors were his manumized Slaves, who under that title often governed Provinces; he raiſed the authority of theſe vermin to a pitch equal with that of the Sovereign and the Laws. Felix Governor of Judea was a freed ſlave, the huſband of three Queens, and the brother of Pallas another freed ſlave, who controlled the Emperor, lay with the Empreſs, and was maſter of the Empire; ſo that Nero ſaid pertinently of him, when he turned him out of office, 'that Pallas went 'to abdicate the Sovereignty.'

Behold the debaſement of the great and venerable Roman Senate! It is not enough that they flatter the Emperor, and heap upon him Powers and Honours ſo great and manifold, that at laſt they have none for themſelves, hardly any for him; they muſt likewiſe adore, and enrich, and exalt the fugitives and off-ſcourings of the earth, inſects naturally doomed to the vileſt offices of the kitchen, ſtable, and privies. The Romans, Lords of the World, muſt put their necks under the feet of the dregs of human race. For a contemptible project of that ſame Pallas, about puniſhing Ladies who married ſlaves, Bareas Soranus Conſul elect, the firſt Magiſtrate in the Roman world, moved the Senate to reward him with the ornaments of Prætor, the next Civil Office in the State, and a preſent of near an hundred thouſand pounds. To this motion it was added by Cornelius Scipio, that Pallas ſhould have public thanks, that he who was deſcended from the old Kings of Arcadia, ſhould to the ſervice of the public thus poſtpone that his ancient Nobility, and deign to be reckoned amongſt the Emperor's Miniſters. But Claudius averred, that Pallas would reſt content with the honours of the Prætorſhip, and, rejecting the preſent, chuſe to

live

live in his uſual poverty. The Decree paſſed, was engraved in braſs, and publicly hung up; a pompous Decree, in which a fellow, lately a bare-footed ſlave, now worth near eight millions, was magnified for obſerving the laudable ſelf denial and parcimony of the primitive ages. Obſerve the ſtrange inverſion of all order and ſenſe! dignity debaſed; infamy exalted; how low the awful authority of the Senate deſcended! how vilely the function of a Conſul proſtituted! how ignominiouſly the glorious name of Scipio employed! how abominably the ornaments of Magiſtracy defiled! an ordinance of State, big with ſervitude and lies! what ſtupidity in the Emperor, what inſolence in the ſlave, and what a melancholy failure of all Virtue, Truth, and Liberty amongſt all degrees of men! It was, in truth, a compliment made to a ſlave by a body of ſlaves, as Pliny well obſerves. We may gueſs at the villainy and evil deeds of the man by the enormous Honours that were paid him, though we had no other rule or proof, as we have proofs enough. No ſuch violent court was ever paid to Seneca; and Tigellinus had much more weight and authority than Burrus.

Real goodneſs and merit beget in all good men real friendſhip and affection; and real affection is never ſo loud nor ſhewy as affection aſſumed. Where we ſincerely like and eſteem, we are not afraid of ſuſpicion in the perſon eſteemed, nor ſpend much breath and ceremony to convince him. But where we are conſcious of our own inſincerity, our profeſſions are pompous and wordy. It was abſolutely impoſſible that theſe vile Upſtarts ſhould love the Senate, or any great men, great in blood, or fortune, or virtue; or the Senate or any great Roman could love ſuch vile Upſtarts; but we ſee what diſguiſes fear and falſhood can put on! Impartial poſterity, which neither fears the Senate nor Pallas, can perceive

perceive nothing in the Honours by them conferred upon him, but the infamy of both perpetuated. Nor was Claudius the only Emperor who was thus led in bondage by his franchiſed bondmen; others ſubmitted to the ſame vaſſalage, to the ſame infamous Counſellors; "Plerique principes (ſays Pliny) "libertorum erant ſervi; horum conſiliis, horum "nutu regebantur." Was not the world finely governed, and humankind completely happy; when the univerſal Lord was ſwayed by the luſt and nod of creatures juſt redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters? The mighty Cæſar, to whom the Romans owed all their enſuing miſery and bondage, began the exaltation of ſuch ſons of earth; and, in contempt of cenſure, declared, that, 'if he had 'employed Highwaymen and Aſſaſſins to ſupport 'his grandeur, he would in return have honoured 'them with the ſame favour.' A true confeſſion, but methinks not very politic; we have ſeen already whether his worthy Succeſſors did not actually do ſo, and what were the Inſtrumenta regni, the bloody tools and machinery of abſolute Rule. Polycletus, a manumized ſlave of Nero's, when ſent by his maſter to inſpect the State of Britain, travelled with ſuch an immenſe train, that he was a burden to great nations, even thoſe of Italy and Gaul.

Sect. IV. The exceſſive Flattery of the Senate, how ill judged.

THERE was no mean in the Flattery of the Senate. They might have been good Courtiers, without being ſo abandoned Courtiers. There are inſtances of their carrying queſtions againſt the ſpirit of the Court and the efforts of Favourites, in the worſt Reigns. Thus, in ſpight of all the Power and caballing of Agrippina, they expelled Tarquitius Priſcus, a creature of hers, from the Senate, in deteſtation

-deteſtation of his baſe attack upon the life of Statilius Taurus, in ſubſerviency to the Empreſs, who yearned after the Wealth and fine Gardens of that illuſtrious Senator. Thus too in the caſe of Antiſtius the Prætor, who had compoſed ſome virulent Verſes againſt Nero, and expoſed them at a great entertainment; though he was impleaded of Treaſon by Coſſutianus Capito ſon-in-law to that powerful minion Tigellinus, and though Junius Marullus, the Conſul elect, moved that he might be doomed to die after the rigorous manner of antiquity; the Senate followed the milder motion of Thraſea Petus for confiſcation and exile. Nor would they depart from the ſentence even after they had received Nero's Letter about it, though in it he manifeſted high indignation.

They might have made ſome other efforts of this kind, where they made none; on the contrary, they gave away their Liberties and Voices faſter than they could have been taken. But the honeſt boldneſs of Thraſea broke the bondage which hung upon the minds of others; ſo much can the example of one worthy man do even in an aſſembly devoted to corruption and ſervitude! It is true, Thraſea paid a ſevere after-reckoning, and it was the apprehenſion of that which ſtopped the mouths of others, or opened them only to fawn. But who would not chuſe the reputation, and integrity of a Patriot, that of a Thraſea, even at the expence of his fate; rather than the fortune and favour of the ſycophant Vitellius, with the abjectneſs of his life, and infamy of his name?

Sect. V. The free Judgment of Posterity a powerful warning to Princes, to reign with moderation and to detest Flatterers. The name and memory of the Roman Tyrants how treated.

ALL men have some vanity, and thence some fondness for fame; if they would acquire it, and avoid infamy, they must square their actions to the judgment of Posterity. With Posterity, little evasions, false colourings, and chicane will not pass for reasons, though they may with our cotemporaries, who are often influenced by friendships, often engaged in parties, often warmed and misled by passion and partiality. Death and Time destroy all artifices, dissipate all mists, and unveil mysteries; the intentions of men with all their motives and pursuits are then scanned and laid open. The flights of Flattery, will not then be termed fondness for the Prince, nor the efforts of Ambition miscalled public zeal. Claudius and Pallas, Tiberius and Sejanus, Nero and Tigellinus; men so caressed, applauded and worshipped during their life and power, men who then employed all tongues in their praises, do now fill, and have long filled the mouths of all men with detestation, and their hearts with abhorrence. What avail now their craft and subornations, their power and high posts? Does the awe of purple, or the violence of the sword, do Prætorian Guards and perverted Laws, secure their memory, as they did their persons? Do I, for example, fear their charges of Treason, or the vile breath of their Informers, while I treat them as sanguinary Monsters, as the Tyrants, Pests and Oppressors of the earth, as public Curses, and Murderers in cold blood?

Theſe Tyrants and their Flatterers, though they puſhed both Tyranny and Flattery as far as they would go, have not been able, with all their Arts and Terrors, to ſtifle the memory of men, nor reſtrain the ſpeech. They are handed down to us under their proper titles. The Emperor Nero we ſeldom ſay; but the Tyrant Nero is in every one's mouth; and the idea of a ſycophant ever accompanies the name of Vitellius. His great credit and offices are forgot, or remembred only to his infamy. What a check muſt Hiſtory and the Cenſure of Poſterity be to a Prince that has any reflection! Had Tiberius, Claudius, Caligula, and other Imperial Monſters conſidered what frightful lights they were like to be drawn in to future times, it would have ſpoiled their pleaſure in tyrannizing, and made them hate their Flatterers, who perſwaded them that all men, at leaſt the beſt men, ſpoke of them as they themſelves ſpoke. With regard to Fame and Poſterity it had been better for theſe wretches that they had never been born, as well as happy for humankind; yet no man was ever a greater drudge for Fame than Nero; "Erat illi æternitatis perpetuæque famæ cupido, ſed inconſulta," ſays Suetonius. Witneſs his laborious fatigues in the Theatre and Circus, continued day after day, and often nights and days, for the reputation of a good Singer, Harper, and Coachman. Caligula aſpired to the like glory, and was a notable Fencer and aſſiduous Dancer, as well as a Charioteer [i]. Laudable Ambition for a Prince, and as juſt and high as that of many others!

Tiberius alſo wiſhed and prayed for the praiſes and affectionate remembrance of poſterity [k]. How

[i] Scenicas ſaltandi canendique artes ſtudioſiſſime appeteret——Thrax & auriga.

[k] Ut quandocunque conceſſero, cum laude & bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nominis mei proſequantur.

well

well he ſucceeded, we all know. He is deteſted as one of the moſt dangerous, falſe, and deliberate Tyrants that ever afflicted men; nay, he was no ſooner known to be dead, than the people broke forth into joy and execrations; ſome cried, 'Into the 'Tiber with Tiberius: others beſought mother 'Earth and the infernal Gods to allot him no man-'ſion but amongſt the damned and accurſed:' others threatened to drag his body with hooks to the charnel of malefactors. And when his corps was going to be removed from Miſenum to Rome, every one cried aloud, that it ſhould rather be carried to the town of Atella, to be in the Amphitheatre there thrown into a fire, till it were half burned. Such were the marks of remembrance he had, and deſerved, from the people! The other two are treated as frantic butchers, or rather as two mad dogs delighted with carnage and worrying, bent and active to kill and deſtroy. What is it to us that they were Princes and Emperors? Men of ſenſe find no magic in names, but regard Monſters as Monſters, whatever titles Fortune or Flatterers gave them, or they themſelves took.

It is thus Tyrants ſuffer the vengeance of after-ages; and terrible vengeance it is to ſuch as are tender of their Renown, and ſeek Immortality, as moſt Princes do; and indeed have it forced upon them, ſince they ſtand too high, and do too much not to be remembered. Hence they ought to be more afraid of future cenſure, which is generally well grounded and will certainly laſt, than of temporary praiſe, which is often falſe, conſequently fleeting, at beſt to be ſuſpected.

Sect. VI. How lamentably Princes are debauched and misled by Flatterers.

NOW if Tyrants are abhorred, how much abhorrence is due to Flatterers, who often change Princes into Tyrants, and make Tyrants worse than they would be? Tiberius assumed the Sovereignty with great diffidence; and his natural wariness would have probably made him mild against his nature, had not the Romans so readily offered him their necks and their persons to bondage. But when he found them devoted to Slavery, he used them like Slaves, and having nothing to fear from them, he only followed the vile bent of his own spirit [1].

Domitian rejoiced when he found that Agricola had left him coheir with his wife and daughter; he vainly thought it done out of judgment and choice, and in pure regard to his person. So much was he corrupted and blinded by continual Flattery, as to be utterly ignorant, that no Prince, but a bad one, was ever by a father tender of his issue and family, assumed into heirship with them, as Pliny the younger well observes.

Nero was in terrible agonies after he had murdered his mother; he dreaded the soldiery, the Senate, and the people; but when, instead of danger and resentment, he met with flattering speeches from the Officers, flattering Decrees from the Senate, popular Processions, Applauses, public Devotions paid to all the Deities, and universal acquiescence; his native insolence became more swelled; and, from this general Servitude, assuming the pride of victory, he ascended the Capitol, offered sacrifices, and thenceforth surrendered himself to the full sway of all his exorbitant lusts. When he had caused

[1] Rupto pudore & metu, suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

these

theſe two noble Romans, Plautus and Sylla, to be aſſaſſinated, he wrote to the Senate without mentioning the execution, only that they were two men of turbulent ſpirits, and what mighty care it coſt him to ſecure the State. Inſtantly the obſequious fathers degraded from the Senate theſe dead Senators, and ordained publick Prayers and Sacrifices. Nero, upon the receiving of this Decree, and finding that all his brutal iniquities and acts of blood paſſed for ſo many feats of renown, grew emboldened to do a thing which even Nero till then durſt not do, and turned away the virtuous Octavia his wife, her by whom he held the Empire [m]. Nay, when ſoon after the Imperial butcher had ordered the blood of that illuſtrious Innocent to be ſhed, thanks and oblations were again preſented to the Deities, by an ordinance of Senate. A particular, ſays Tacitus, which with this view I recount, that whoever reads the events of thoſe times in this or any other Hiſtory, may take it for granted, that as often as the Emperors commanded acts of cruelty, baniſhments and aſſaſſinations, ſo often thanks and ſacrifices were decreed to the Gods; and thoſe Solemnities which were of old the marks and conſequences of public victories and public felicity, were now ſo many ſad marks of public ſlaughter and deſolation [n].

This was remarkably verified afterwards as well as now; when Nero, upon the diſcovery of Piſo's conſpiracy, had ſpilt rivers of blood, and ſlain men by heaps; the fuller the city was of executions and

[m] Igitur accepto patrum conſulto, poſtquam cuncta ſcelerum ſuorum pro egregiis accipi vidit, exturbat Octaviam.

[n] Quod ad eum finem memoravimus, ut quicunque caſus temporum illorum nobis vel aliis auctoribus noſcent, præſumptum habeant, quotiens fugas & cædes juſſit princeps, totiens grates deis actas; quæque rerum ſecundarum olim, tum publicæ cladis inſignia fuiſſe.

funerals, the fuller too were the Temples of ſacrifices. One had loſt a ſon, one a brother, or kinſman, or friend in this general butchery; and the greater their loſs, the more gayety they ſhewed, adorned their houſes with Laurel, frequented Temples with Thankſgiving, embraced the knees of the Tyrant, and worried his hand with kiſſes. Nero took all this for ſo many ſincere tokens of affection and joy; when, in truth, their Congratulations and Flattery were juſt in proportion to their ſevere ſorrow.

Sect. VII. The peſtilent tendency of flattering Counſels, and the Glory of ſuch as are ſincere.

WHAT a poiſonous thing is Flattery? By it Princes are miſled into a perſuaſion that all their meaſures of Oppreſſion, all their acts of Frenzy and Rage, are juſt meaſures of Government; that forced praiſe is real affection, that they themſelves are popular when they are abhorred; and thus they are kept from repenting or amending, becauſe, relying upon the aſſurances of Flatterers, they cannot find that they have done amiſs, or ſee any thing to be mended. The Flatterers of Nero ridiculed Seneca, and railed at him, and perſuaded that Prince he wanted no Tutors. The ſame did the Flatterers of Commodus in relation to the old Counſellors, which had been his father's. Nero and Commodus followed the advice of their Flatterers, and reigned miſchievouſly, and died tragically, and their memories are abhorred. Thus they are kept hoodwinked and ſecure, till the firſt thing they open their eyes upon, is their Throne tottering or overturned, and perhaps an executioner's knife at their breaſt; and even when things are come to that extremity, there will be thoſe to miſrepreſent and flatter, as in the

the caſe of Galba; a few moments before he was maſſacred, he was ſoothed with falſe aſſurances of ſecurity °.

How pernicious too is ſuch falſification even to thoſe that practiſe it; ſince though they mean it out of ſelfiſhneſs and for ſecurity, yet by ſanctifying upon all occaſions the Oppreſſion and Deſtruction of others, they do but invite their own! Whereas were matters laid honeſtly before Princes, that this meaſure is a Grievance, that an Oppreſſion, and that whatever is unjuſt to others is dangerous to themſelves, they would prefer caution with ſafety, to humour and wilfulneſs accompanied with peril; they would grow into a habit of doubting, deliberating and enquiring; of ſubmitting their own judgment to that of others; of remembering that they are what they are for the ſake of their People, and that they ought to have no Will, nor Intereſt, but the public Will and the public Intereſt.

Had Nero purſued the good Rules of Government dictated by Seneca and Burrus, and propoſed by himſelf in his firſt Speech to the Senate; had he avoided the counſels of that bloody and deteſtable ſycophant Tigellinus, and of others like him, he might have ended his reign with as much renown as he began it, and left a memory revered as much as it is now deteſted. And would the Confidents of Princes, inſtead of debaſing themſelves into the characters of Paraſites, inſtead of abuſing their truſt, and bringing infamy upon their maſters and themſelves; would they, inſtead of this, give upright counſel, ſuch as conduced to the good of all men, they would, beſides the praiſe of well-doing, take the beſt method to ſecure themſelves, their fortunes and families in the general ſecurity: or, ſhould they

° Quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis.

be rewarded with disgrace, or even with death, they would have the approbation of their own Consciences, the applauses of the Living, and the praises of Posterity. But while they sooth the Prince in his jealousies and violence, and encourage him in destroying such as he, or such as they fear or dislike, they set him a lesson and example for turning the edge of his fury upon themselves, whenever he becomes prompted by his humour or caprice; a case often happening, and always to be apprehended. The Courtiers and Flatterers of the Emperor Caracalla, to humour him, concurred with him in the murder of his brother Geta; and, after that murder, though committed by his own hand, were themselves murdered for their wicked complaisance, and amongst them Letus his Favourite and Confident. Yet he was so far from remorse for shedding his brother's blood, that he massacred every friend and adherent to his brother, to the number of twenty thousand, in a short time. Tiberius, of all his Friends, Confidents and Counsellors, scarce let one escape a violent end, unless where by a natural death they prevented it: and they who had been the Ministers of his Tyranny, hardly ever failed to fall by it. He indeed protected them from the resentment and prosecution of others; but he generally poured vengeance upon them himself [p]. Vescularius Atticus and Julius Marinus, were two of his most ancient intimates; they had accompanied him during his retirement at Rhodes, and never forsook him in his retreat at Capreæ; they had abetted his Tyranny, and assisted him in his cruel Counsels, nor does it appear that they had ever offended him by any good Counsel. Vescularius was his manager and inter-

[p] Scelerum ministros, ut perverti ab aliis nolebat; ita plerumque fatiatus, & oblatis in eandem operam recentibus, veteres & prægraves adflixit.

agent

agent in the perfidious plot to deſtroy that noble Roman Libo Druſus; and by the co-operation of Marinus, Sejanus had worked the overthrow of Curtius Atticus. Was not all this merit enough, at leaſt, to have redeemed their own lives? It was not; they fell themſelves victims to his cruelty, as to ſatiate his cruelty they had made others fall: "ad "mortem aguntur: quo lætius acceptum, ſays Ta- "citus, ſua exempla in conſultores recidiſſe;" their tragical end was followed with the more joy, for that upon their own heads had thus recoiled the precedents of their own traiterous deviſing. In truth, theſe inſtruments of cruelty are generally abhorred by the Princes that uſe them. Anicetus Admiral of the Gallies to Nero, conducted and perpetrated the murder of his mother Agrippina, and for a ſhort ſpace continued in ſome ſmall favour with the Prince; but was afterwards held in greater averſion; for, ſays Tacitus, the Miniſters of evil Counſels are by Princes beheld as men whoſe looks continually upbraid them [q]. Such too was the fate of Cleander under Commodus, who loved him, was governed by him, and cut off his head. How differently related is the fate of Burrus, ſuſpected to have been poiſoned by Nero [r]: Mighty and laſting was the ſorrow of Rome for his death, for the Romans remembered his virtues; and a little before [s], While the calamities of the Public were growing daily more heavy and bitter, the reſources of the Public were diminiſhed, and Burrus died. How nobly too is the tragedy of Seneca recounted! it is too long to find room here.

[q] Ut exprobrantes aſpiciuntur.

[r] Civitati grande deſiderium ejus manſit per memoriam virtutis.

[s] Graveſcentibus in dies publicis malis, ſubſidia minuebantur, conceſſitque vita Burrus.

I ſhall end this Diſcourſe with obſerving, that as Flattery is the effect of dread and falſhood; as the moſt tyrannical Princes are moſt flattered, and men of the falſeſt minds are the greateſt Flatterers; this conſideration ſhould be a leſſon to Princes and great men, to weigh the actions they do againſt the praiſes they receive; and if they find themſelves righteous, they may conclude their panegyrics to be ſincere. Let them reflect upon their acts of benevolence or oppreſſion, and how they have uſed their people. They would alſo do well to examine what ſort of men they are who praiſe them; whether men of virtue and honour, lovers of truth, lovers of their Country, and of human-kind; or whether they are thoſe unlimited Sycophants, whoſe cuſtom and rule it is to extol at random all the ſayings and doings of Princes, worthy and unworthy [t].

DISCOURSE IX.

Upon COURTS.

Sect. I. Of Freedom of Speech; and how reaſonable it is.

TO the foregoing Diſcourſe upon Flattery, I thought it might not be unſuitable to ſubjoin another upon Courts, the place where that peſtilent and unmanly practice is wont chiefly to prevail.

During thoſe Reigns which I have been deſcribing, when Power was eſtabliſhed in Terrors, and

[t] Quibus omnia principis, honeſta atque inhoneſta laudare mos eſt.

Sub-

Subjection converted into Abaſement, ſmall was the wonder that reſtraint upon ſpeech was no inconſiderable link in the public chain, and care taken that ſuch as preſumed to breathe aught but vaſſalage, ſhould not breathe at all. This was wretched policy, barbarous, and impoſſible to be practiſed. The paſſions are not to be extinguiſhed but with life; and to forbid people, eſpecially a ſuffering people, to ſpeak, is to forbid them to feel.

It is not indeed to be expected that men ſhould be ſuffered to meet together tumultuouſly, in order to publiſh their mutual Diſcontents and Wrongs, and to inflame one another; but complaints uttered in their families, or dropped occaſionally, or communicated to a friend, can never affect Authority. The more men expreſs of their hate and reſentment, perhaps the leſs they retain; and ſometimes they vent the whole that way; but theſe paſſions, where they are ſmothered, will be apt to feſter, to grow venomous, and to diſcharge themſelves by a more dangerous organ than the mouth, even by an armed and vindictive hand. Leſs dangerous is a railing mouth, than a heart filled and enflamed with bitterneſs and curſes; and more terrible to a Prince ought to be the ſecret execrations of his people than their open revilings, or than even the aſſaults of his enemies. Of all the blood ſpilt under Tiberius and the following Tyrants for Words (and for no greater cauſe a deluge was ſpilt) how ſmall a part conduced to their ſecurity? none that I remember; but every drop was an indelible ſtain upon their perſons and upon their Government; every drop derived hatred, and conſequently weakneſs and danger, upon it. Rigorous puniſhment for ſmall faults, or for ſuch as in the common opinion paſs for none, is a mark of ill politics; it makes the ſpirit of the Adminiſtration look hideous and dreadful, and it renders every man who finds himſelf liable to the like faults, a ca-

pital enemy. Surely it ought to be a maxim in Government, that errors which can have no conſequences, ought to have no puniſhment.

Oliver Cromwell, who ſeems to have ſeen far into the heart of man, was little affected with the hard words and invectives of particulars, and as high as he carried Authority, left people to talk and rail. The ſame is true of the late Regent of France, one who well knew human nature, and the nature of power; it was then common to ſee Frenchmen ſwagger and ſtorm as freely as an old Roman would have done againſt an unpopular Magiſtrate. In truth, where no liberty is allowed to ſpeak of Governors, beſides that of praiſing them, their praiſes will be little believed. Their tenderneſs and averſion to have their conduct examined, will be apt to prompt people to think their conduct guilty or weak, to ſuſpect their management and deſigns to be worſe than perhaps they are, and to become turbulent and ſeditious, rather than be forced to be ſilent. When nothing but incenſe and applauſe will be accepted or borne; all plain dealing, all honeſt counſel and true information, will be at an end, and baniſhed, to make room for deceitful adorations, for pleaſing and pernicious falſhoods. If Princes whoſe memory is diſliked, had allowed their ſubjects and co-temporaries to have ſpoken truth to them, or of them, probably Poſterity would not have ſpoke ſo much ill, as it is probable they would not then have deſerved it; and I am apt to believe, that it had been better for all of them to have permitted all that could have been ſaid, than to have miſſed hearing what it imported them to have heard; better to have heard the diſguſts and railings of their people, than that their people were armed againſt them, or revolted from them; a fate which has befallen ſome of them, who, having had Courtiers over-complaiſant, or ears over-tender, learnt

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that they were dethroned before they had learnt that they were not beloved; and found ſcarce any interval between the acclamations of Flatterers and the ſtrokes of an Executioner. Such is the genius of Courts, where ill tidings are generally concealed or diſguiſed; ſuch too often the ſilence and ſoothings of Courtiers, who tell only or chiefly what is pleaſing; and ſuch ſometimes the pride and impatience of Princes, that they will ſuffer nothing which ruffles their paſſions, to approach their underſtanding.

Sect. II. The Spirit of Courtiers what; ſome good ones.

IT is ſomething elſe than zeal for telling truth, that carries men to Court, and keeps them in it; to raiſe an intereſt, or to preſerve it, is the more prevailing paſſion. And becauſe whoever ſets his foot there with any view to place and favour, is always ſure of competitors, be his perſon or pretences what they will, ever ſo conſiderable or inconſiderable; his chief care will be to conquer oppoſers, and ſecure himſelf; and as there ever will be ſome oppoſition, real or apprehended, that care will be conſtant. Hence the ſpirit of a Court, ſelfiſh, ſuſpicious and unfriendly; and hence the ſupple ſpirit of Courtiers, to love and hate, court and avoid, praiſe and perſecute the ſame perſon with notable ſuddenneſs, juſt as he is promoted or diſgraced, and can help or hurt, or is to be deprived of all capacity to do either. To be well with the ſubſiſting Power, with him who holds the reins of Authority, and diſtributes, or cauſes to be diſtributed the bleſſings and terrors of Power, is the main purſuit; his motions are chiefly watched, his affections and averſions are ſtudied and adopted; and thus a ſmile or a frown from the Throne, or

from one who is next the Throne, is eagerly catched up, ſeizes the faces of a whole drawing-room in an inſtant, and is handed down, with ſignal uniformity, through all claſſes of men, from a Grandee to the loweſt Clerk in an Office.

A Court is a great Exchange, where one or a few have favours to diſpoſe of, where many reſort to procure them, and where all therefore ſtrive to outgo in the ways of pleaſing every one who has the ſame aim, and ſtudy every method to render themſelves acceptable. Hence their obſequious Countenances, Flattery, Inſinuations, and Zeal, ſome paſſions concealed, ſome diſguiſed, and others perſonated; hence too their attachment to ſuch as can help to promote them, and their neglect of ſuch as cannot; hence with them good fortune, however unworthily placed, always paſſes for merit, and abilities ever ſink with power; and hence their falſehood, ingratitude and courteous behaviour.

That this is true of the herd of Courtiers, I believe will be allowed. Without doubt there are exceptions, and men of great honour, diſintereſtedneſs and friendſhip are often to be found there; men who ſcorn treachery and baſeneſs, and would riſk all, rather than do a mean thing. Such were Manius Lepidus, Seneca, and Burrus; ſuch Cocceius Nerva and Julius Agricola, and ſuch were the Chancellor De L' Hoſpital, Chancellor Hyde, and the Earl of Southampton; all theſe great men were Courtiers, and lived in Courts full of corruption and dangerous deſigns; all practiſed ſome degrees of ſuppleneſs, ſubmitted their opinions to the neceſſity of the times, and, by defeating many evil meaſures, were the Authors of much good, though not of all that they would.

Cardinal Richelieu makes heavy complaints of the oppoſition which he found to his beſt deſigns from the credit and intrigues of Women, and the whiſ-

pers and ill offices of malevolent Courtiers. Theſe great men abovementioned were likewiſe often wronged; bad counſels which they had heartily oppoſed, were imputed to them; and, when they concurred with ſome exceſſes to obviate much greater, juſt allowances were not made, and their motives were ſpitefully conſtrued. Thus the Chancellor De L'Hoſpital was ſeverely cenſured by the Hugonots for paſſing the Edict of Romorantin, which bore hard upon them; though by that Edict he prevented their utter extirpation, and the miſery of all France, by hindering the introduction and eſtabliſhment of that monſtrous and bloody Tribunal the Inquiſition; in which deſign the Court and Parliament were already agreed, and I think the Edict for that deteſtable purpoſe was ready. For ſuch ſignal and glorious ſervice the Proteſtants firſt railed at him, and the Papiſts afterwards curſed him. Lord Clarendon too was reproached with the ſale of Dunkirk, and for many other exorbitancies which the ſincere heart of that upright Miniſter abhorred. Nor could the good counſels of Seneca ſecure him from much envy and defamation; and many great Miniſters, thought to be the Authors of evil counſels, have fallen into diſgrace, or periſhed, for daring to offer ſuch as were benevolent and upright [a].

Sect. III. The Arts of Courtiers; their Cautiouſneſs, and its Cauſes.

PLauſibleneſs and guiſes are inſeparable from Courts; men muſt not ſeem to underſtand all that they apprehend or know, no more than they muſt ſpeak all that they think or feel [b]. Princes often

[a] Eſt vulgus ad deteriora promptum.

[b] Intelligebantur artes, ſed pars obſequii in eo ne deprehenderentur.

diſſemble with their ſubjects, their Miniſters with them, and all with one another; and every one talks, as he appears, to the beſt advantage. Some diſſimulation there, is abſolutely neceſſary, and therefore lawful. Men are not obliged upon all occaſions to ſpeak the truth, though whatever they ſpeak upon any occaſion ought to be true. Nor ought any one to be blamed for hiding his paſſions and ſentiments, when the diſcovery would only ſerve to hurt himſelf. But few people in private life can be truſted with ſecrets, which publiſhed would leſſen one's peace or fame; and in Courts there are much fewer, perhaps none. Particular intereſts and paſſions are often ſhifting there; men who were once cloſe united, become widely divided; friendſhips old and long, are turned into bitter and vindictive enmity; and he who would once have riſqued his life for the preferment of his friend, would venture as much, upon a diſguſt, to bring him to a ſcaffold. This might be exemplified by a thouſand inſtances in all Times and Hiſtories. Nothing keeps the paſſions more awake than the purſuit of power; nothing touches the pride of man more ſenſibly, than neglect or diſappointment in that purſuit, and nothing is more tender and ſuſpicious than pride. Few have got ſo much as not to aim at more, or have had ever ſo much aſſiſtance but they expect further, even where the ſame is unreaſonable or perhaps impoſſible; and from diſappointment enſues diſguſt. Too rarely ſeen is that Gratitude which looks backward, and generouſly ſubſiſts upon favours paſt, without freſh claims and aliment; how much more common is that which muſt be kept up by daily benefits, and when bereft of ſuch food, expires? Nor is the ceaſing of gratitude the worſt that is to be apprehended from ſelfiſh and ungenerous men: the room of it is too often ſupplied by ſpite and revenge; and if it be

natural

natural to hate ſuch as we have injured, this hate muſt be great in proportion to the injury done; and what injury can be greater than that of being barbarous to benefactors?

Theſe conſiderations are ſufficient to make ſuch as frequent Courts and know men, ſlow and wary in confiding, and to put them under conſiderable reſerves even where they confide moſt. No one cares to be at the mercy of a friend, that may be an enemy; hence, in the making of Friendſhip any where, it ought to be one of the firſt conſiderations, whether there be any probable cauſes which threaten a rupture; whether the buſineſs of love, or power, or fame, or anger, or intereſt, be never likely to interfere, and produce the moſt bitter of all enmities, that of friends.

This warineſs at Court extends even to words and looks. The converſing with great men and great affairs, naturally produces ſecreſy and ſilence; for, ſince ſuch is the folly of the world, that whatever a great man ſays, however light or accidental, ſhall be deemed deep and myſterious, if it has the leaſt alluſion to the tranſactions of the times, and ſince they who hear it will be apt, through vanity, to quote it; great men ſeldom ſay any thing upon ſuch ſubjects; and even when they hear the talk and ſentiments of others, they take care that neither their anſwers, nor their countenance, ſhall betray their own. Sometimes a word thoughtleſsly dropped, or an unſeaſonable ſmile, or ſome mark of ſurprize, has given light into an important deſign, and marred it intirely. The like circumſpection they obſerve in their diſcourſe upon particulars, becauſe their diſcourſe may be eaſily altered and poiſoned by the malice or folly of ſuch as hear it; a practice as uſual at Court, as in any country village; and many a man has been diſgraced by his own words, whiſpered and altered by a virulent breath; nay, the very

ſame

ſame thing reported with a different tone and action, has had the ſame effect; and where the alteration of the words was conſiderable, thoſe of them which were forged and criminal have been believed, becauſe the reſt that were true and innocent, were well atteſted.

I ſhall illuſtrate this by the ſtory of young Nero (the ſon of Germanicus) in the Court of Tiberius. It excellently ſhews the jealouſies of Princes, and the ſpirit of Courts. That young Prince was intirely beloved of the Roman People, who had adored his father; hence the diſtaſte and dark ſuſpicions of the Emperor his great uncle and grandfather by adoption. Sejanus, who had already poiſoned the Emperor's ſon Druſus, and was ploting the overthrow of the whole reigning Houſe, fed the hate and apprehenſions of the old Prince, by malignant reports and infuſions concerning the young, now the next in Succeſſion. This he did by the interagency of hollow whiſpers and tale-bearers, who related and blackened every thing that eſcaped Nero, who was alſo hard uſed and brow-beaten, on purpoſe to extort from him ſevere and unwary complaints, ſuch as might fill up the charge againſt him. Moreover his domeſtics and retainers, impatient to ſee him in power that they might ſhine in its trappings, were continually exciting him to rouſe his courage and exert himſelf, to meet the zeal of the people, to gratify the paſſionate wiſhes of the army; as the only expedients to daunt and repulſe the inſolence of Sejanus, who now deſpiſed him as a boy, and his grandfather as ſuperannuated.

The young Prince, however naturally modeſt, was yet by ſo many inſtigations tranſported beyond the circumſpection which the ſtation that he was in, and the many eyes that were upon him, required; and thence gave vent to words, which, though they betrayed no ſign of any treaſonable purpoſe, yet, being

ing ill-guarded and ſavouring of contumacy, were, by the ſpies purpoſely placed about him, carried inſtantly, well heightened and imbittered, to Tiberius. Nor, under all theſe imputations and aſperſions, was he warned or admitted to vindicate himſelf, but beſet, on the contrary, with ſeveral melancholy and boding appearances. Some of the Court carefully ſhunned to meet him; others juſt greeted him, and then inſtantly left him; many with whom he had begun a converſation, broke it off abruptly; while the creatures and adherents of Sejanus looked on with a malicious laugh. Tiberius too always received him ſternly, or with a hollow and upbraiding ſmile; and, whether the youth ſpoke, or ſaid nothing, there were crimes in his words, crimes in his ſilence. Neither did his bed-chamber and the ſhades of night ſecure him from his Enemies and Accuſers, for even his reſtleſsneſs and watchings, nay, his ſighs and dreams, were by his wife divulged to her mother Livia, and by her to her adulterer Sejanus. Druſus alſo, his younger brother, was, by this wicked politician, drawn to combine againſt him as one who ſtood between himſelf and the Empire, and was better beloved by their common mother Agrippina; a freſh cauſe of emulation and prejudice. Yet at that very time was Sejanus laying a deſign againſt the life of this ſame Druſus, whom he knew to be of a ſpirit tempeſtuous and fiery, and thence the more obnoxious to ſnares. Thus he began the Tragedy of theſe two youths, and that of their mother; but before he had finiſhed theirs, ſuffered his own, which was abundantly bloody, but abundantly juſt. Their brother Caligula was a better Courtier; he ſtudied the temper and manner of Tiberius, and in all things conformed to it; but was particularly a complete ſcholar of his in diſſimulation.

lation[c]. Upon the condemnation of his mother, upon the exile of his brothers, not a word, not a groan escaped him, nor any symptom of resentment or pity. The passions are no where more agitated than at Court; yet no where are the signs of perturbation more suppressed.

Sect. IV. Of Slanderers and Tale-bearers in Courts. The Folly of Craft.

THE occupation of slander and whispering, will, like other occupations, always thrive according to the encouragement given to it, and being easily exercised, will be ever engaging fresh adventurers. What requires less labour and conscience than to find out, or frame, or invenom a story to the prejudice of another, especially when he is not to be heard in his own defence, nor suffered to confront his Accuser, nor perhaps even knows that he has one? There is an endless appetite in mankind for Intelligence and secret History; and in proportion to that appetite, they who feed it are well received and incouraged. But of all places they fare best in Courts. Great men are in the power of such people much more than they themselves imagine or mean; these assiduous shadows of theirs, who have their ear, and know their tempers, watch their unwary moments, and observe when they are gay and open, when disobliged and angry, when full of thought and business; and will be sure to improve the present temper and opportunity. They know the Characters of men; know whom their Patron loves, whom he dislikes, to whom he is altogether indifferent, with what is likely to be believed of

[c] Simulationum falsa in sinu avi perdidicerat.

each,

each. They extoll ſome, decry others, flatter him, miſrepreſent all; and ſooth, or alarm, or divert him, juſt as his humour and their drift requires. If with this they can play the droll, and make dry and malicious jeſts, they are accompliſhed in their way; but moſt villanous is that talent which is good for nothing but to do hurt; it is like death and poiſon, fit only to take away life. Vatinius was a buffoon of this peſtilent caſt, and, from working in a ſtall, taken to Court, at firſt for jeſt and diverſion; but having a malicious ſpirit and a ſarcaſtical turn, ſoon became a terror to every worthy and illuſtrious man; inſomuch that in wealth and favour, and in power to do miſchief, he grew to exceed all the other Miniſters of iniquity in Nero's Court.

In all Courts there are many who riſe into notice and preferment for no greater merit than that of officiouſneſs, buffoonery and tale-bearing; and Courts are the places in the world where bad and worthleſs people can do the moſt harm; a Barber, a Porter, a Valet de Chambre, and even a Child, are all capable of doing notable miſchief there. Thoſe inſtruments, let them be ever ſo mean, will find ſome or other to hear them; theſe will find others; and a ſtory that has run through a hundred hands, and can be traced to no original, or to a very low one, perhaps the idle Prattle of a Chamber-maid, may, for all that, have no mean influence.

But whatever reaſon men have, upon all theſe accounts, to keep a guard upon their lips and behaviour at Court; there is ſtill room for great frankneſs and candour, and no neceſſity of illuſion and deceiving, though it be often neceſſary to let people deceive themſelves, and would be often imprudent and dangerous to undeceive them. It is certain, that in the tranſacting of great Affairs, the rules of morality admit of ſome relaxation; this is to be lamented, but not to be helped. Such frequently are

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the exigencies of a State, and ſuch always the crookedneſs and depravity of the heart of man, that were you to deal openly, to tell all that you mean, all that you know, and all that you aim at, you would expoſe your Country to ruin, and yourſelf to ſcorn, perhaps to the block. The moſt that can be done is to ſave appearances, and be wary of what expreſſions are uſed; for, upon theſe occaſions, and many others, men are not to be upbraided for their ſilence. I know ſome who have gone through nice Embaſſies, ſome who have concluded intricate Negotiations, others who have adminiſtered the higheſt Offices, and ſtill preſerved the character of high Honour, and untainted Veracity. This ſhews the thing to be poſſible; and a promiſe or aſſurance, juſt given to ſerve a turn, and therefore not obſerved afterwards, does often more injury to him who made it, than the ſerving that turn did good. Cardinal Richelieu was not liberal of money nor promiſes; but he always performed more than he undertook: hence the zeal and firm adherrnce of all who depended upon him. Cardinal Mazarin denied nothing, performed nothing, was believed in nothing, and his ill faith was become proverbial; hence no man was ever more hated, no man in his ſtation more deſpiſed; he could never rely upon any party, for he deceived all parties and all particulars; and nothing could ſupport him but the blind obſtinacy of the Queen Regent, and the mere weight of Royal Power armed in his defence; but in ſpite of the Queen and the Authority Royal, he was forced to run and ſculk for his life. The Parliament ſet a price upon his head, and iſſued ordinances to the people to fall upon him as a public Enemy. Yet he had never carried Sovereign Power ſo high as his Predeceſſor, nor ever exerted it ſo terribly; but he had no faith nor honour, and therefore no perſonal friends. To this hour, Richelieu is conſidered as a Miniſter, who,

who, though arbitrary and ſevere, was yet an elevated genius, and a man of veracity to particulars; Mazarin, as a man not rigorous indeed, nor vindictive, but ſordid, addicted to low cunning and lies, and with all the eclat of a great Miniſter unable to hide the little tricking Italian.

Craftineſs is a deſpicable quality, and undoes itſelf; he who has it, and acts by it, can never diſguiſe it long; and when it becomes apparent, it becomes impotent, arms every body againſt it, brings hatred or ridicule, at beſt is perfectly uſeleſs; and the man, even when he deals uprightly, is ſuſpected to mean knaviſhly. What gained Tiberius by all his profound ſubtlety and wiles, but to have his beſt actions ill conſtrued, and his ſincereſt profeſſions to be diſbelieved [d]? What gained Philip the ſecond of Spain by that ſtrange and intricate ſcene of falſe Politics, concerted to transfer his own guilt upon the head of his Miniſter Antonio Perez; but to bring home the juſt imputation of that guilt to his own door, and to produce full proof, where before there was only ſuſpicion? Sincerity is very conſiſtent with human prudence, and often a part of it, conſidering the reputation that always attends it; and men even in Courts may be very upright, without being unguarded; nor can Courtiers ever do buſineſs with one another without ſome openneſs and candour. I have ſeen it aſſerted ſomewhere, that people are oftner deceived by diſtruſt than by acts of confidence. I have obſerved as plain dealing in Courtiers as in any other ſort of men in the world. It is ridiculous to carry reſerve and deepneſs into every thing. I know not a more contemptible ſort of men than ſuch as mimic buſineſs and myſtery; I have ſeen ſome ſubaltern Courtiers look as impor-

[d] Ad vana & totiens inriſa revolutus, de reddendâ Repub. &c. vero quoque & honeſto fidem dempſit.

tant,

tant, demure and wary, as if they had carried great matters, and even the weight of the State upon their ſhoulders. This affectation ſerves to raiſe their credit amongſt their ſervants and artificers in town, and in the country amongſt their tenants and neighbours, and diverts better judges. There are others who really believe themſelves to be in ſecrets; who take ſhrugs and nods, mere words and ſhadows for real confidence and communication; and live in happy ignorance under the conceit of high truſt and intelligence. Some few too there are, who, beſides deſpiſing the foppery of being thought truſted where they are not, are careful to hide it from the world when they are. 'Tis men of this turn who chiefly do credit to a Court; and whoever does it credit, does it ſervice.

Sect. V. How much worthleſs People abound in Courts, and why.

AS in a great family, where there are numerous domeſtics, in ſpite of all the care that can be taken to examine the Characters of ſervants when they are admitted, or to regulate and watch their behaviour afterwards, there will be ſome ſtill unworthy of their places, and a diſcredit to their maſter; how much more ſo muſt it be in a Court, where not only the officers, but even the offices are ſo numerous; where ſo many have a right to prefer or recommend, and where ſo many do both from ſtrange, wretched, and ſelfiſh motives, nay, often for conſiderations altogether diſhonourable and ſcandalous? It is therefore no wonder, that though the politeſt men are always found at Court, ſo likewiſe are always a ſtrange rabble of creatures, ignorant, mercenary, ridiculous and diſagreeable, who owe their preferment to chance, whim, money, dirty ſervices, to names, affinities, nay, to impudence and

and folly; and one who has no pretences to any thing elſe, neither to education, nor capacity, nor honour, nor ſpirit, nor even to good looks and common ſenſe, ſhall find pretences to a place, and probably get one. Nor is this to be remedied; ſince he who gives it does not chuſe, but take, and has often ſtronger reaſons to oblige the recommender, than to reject the recommended. I have known a friend, nay, a relation of a great Miniſter, diſappointed twice of an Office which was even intended for him, but by potent interceſſion was beſtowed elſewhere; the firſt time, upon one whom the Miniſter knew not, whom the Recommender knew not, nor whom even the Lady who ſpoke for him knew; but one who for a ſum of money engaged a Gentleman's Valet de Chambre to engage the Lady's Woman whom the Valet courted, to engage her Lady whom ſhe governed, to engage the laſt Recommender, who undertook it, and ſucceeded. He who had the firſt pretences was again put by upon a vacancy, and a creature put in, whom the Miniſter was known to deſpiſe, and almoſt to loath; but ſacrificed his opinion, his averſion, and his friend to mediation not more honourably obtained. At ſo critical a juncture as that of a Rebellion, I have heard of one who by a Letter written with the ſame pen which he had uſed in correſponding with the Rebels, procured a handſome proviſion for his brother, who wiſhed the Rebels as well as he, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very public place by acts of diſaffection, and diſloyal healths. Nor in this inſtance was there any money or intrigue at all; the Recommender had only once told a hearty lye for a great man in a nice caſe, and ſworn to it; hence his merit and influence. For an act of honour or ſpirit, done to ſerve the Public, he might perhaps have found leſs regard, perhaps not ſo much as acceſs; as befel ſome who did.

It is certain, great men often prefer ſuch as they diſlike, and ſuch as do them no credit, ſometimes with their eyes open, frequently through miſinformation, and in both caſes through ſolicitation and importunity. Men of merit often want intereſt, often application and boldneſs; whereas one who has no one worthy qualification, is the more likely to have importunity and ſhameleſſneſs. It has indeed been often a notable advantage to a man, that he had not ſenſe enough to be aſhamed nor baulked; nay, I have known ſuch a negative accompliſhment to be the making of his fortune. A rational man will take a rational anſwer, or even a trifling one, when he ſees it meant for a rebuke or a refuſal; or perhaps he has too much pride to preſs and beſeech, or to aſk above once; but he who has no underſtanding to miſlead him from his intereſt; or to apprehend what is ſaid to him; he who is incapable of a repulſe, or to be aſhamed of begging and teaſing; but has an unchangeable front and unwearied nonſenſe, ſtands in a fair light to have his pretences conſidered. Though he cannot perſuade, he can tire; and he finds the fruit and advantage of talents in the abſolute want of them; he is deſpiſed and promoted; a little ſhare of good ſenſe and modeſty, would have ruined him, and he might then have been neither diſliked nor minded.

Such is the force of recommendation without reaſon, or againſt it; and ſuch too the power of aſſiduity unincumbered with parts! There are ſtrange inconſiſtencies in the make, and turn, and education of men. There are thoſe who can calmly encounter death and terrors in any ſhape, yet ſhall tremble in ſpeaking two or three words to a Secretary of State; a taſk which would not baulk a common Footman. Others can harangue readily and boldly before a great Aſſembly, yet are ſtruck dumb in the company of Women, a place where a Page,

or

or an ignorant Beau, can be entertaining and eloquent. Some have talents, but not the uſe of them. Many have capacity, but want application; many are hurt by too much application not directed by capacity; ſeveral have good ſenſe and activity, and can apply both to ſerve a friend, but neither to do good to themſelves. In ſome you find excellent parts fruſtrated by predominant paſſions; in others eminent courage and ſpirit drowned and depreciated by a modeſty almoſt childiſh; and numbers there are who, under a notorious defect of ability, acquirements, and every amiable quality, are puſhed up as high as any of theſe could have puſhed them, perhaps much higher than all of them would. So that, in the odd aſſortment of human things, Fortune would ſeem to correſpond with the caprice and wantonneſs of Nature.

I have already owned that it is impoſſible to keep many worthleſs people out of a Court, conſidering how many ways there are to get in; but owing to ſuch is a good meaſure of the obloquy uſually thrown upon Courts and miniſters; as the falſhood, the low tricks and ſpirit of theſe Underlings, are all aſcribed to the genius of the place and of power; and under the character of inſincerity and ingratitude, it is uſual in popular diſcourſe and opinion, though it is really very unjuſt, to throw all Courtiers together. I even believe that there are ſome of them fooliſh and baſe enough to like the reputation of ſlipperineſs and deceiving, for the ſake of being thought good Courtiers. From the numbers too and little minds of ſuch, we may account for the general outcry and reproach which from that quarter uſually follow any worthy Miniſter fallen into diſgrace. They are for the Powers that be; and though they be the work of his hands, were thruſt into place by his late might, and are ſtill baſking in the Sun-ſhine which he let in upon them; yet they are ready not only to leave

leave a falling houſe, but to help pull it down. It is the temper of Renegadoes. The celebrated Sancho was firſt warmly in the intereſt of the injured Baſil, one who had loſt his Miſtreſs for no want of merit, but through the ſuperior wealth of his rival Gamacho; yet the ſavory ſkimmings and loaded ladles out of Gamacho's kettles, ſo effectually turned the ſupple ſpirit of that courtly Squire, that, without more ceremony, he began to juſtify and extol the happy ſupplanter, and to rail plentifully at poor Baſil under misfortune and diſgrace.

What can Miniſters expect, when they have raiſed ſuch duſt, but that with the firſt contrary wind, it will be blown into their eyes? Mean ſpirits, ſelfiſh and impudent, can never take the impreſſions of gratitude and honour; no more than ſuch as are modeſt and generous can ever be ungrateful or baſe. Yet hard is the taſk to weed a Court of ſuch; not only becauſe the ſame intereſt that recommends, does likewiſe protect; but becauſe there are ſo many Candidates ready to fill their places, and ſupported by ſo many Patrons and Interceſſors, that more will be diſobliged than can be gratified by the change; and after all perhaps the freſh comer may not prove the more deſerving man. Neither can the great Officers eaſily cure the exorbitances and exactions of the inferior; eſpecially when the ſame are become common and inveterate. All men, even the greateſt men deſire to live eaſy with thoſe they have daily to do with, and will not care to incur the clamour and curſes of Subalterns; who, though they are but ſmall men, yet being numerous, and ſupported by all who are intereſted in corruption, are able by continual complaints and noiſe, to weaken the credit of the moſt puiſſant Miniſter, and to make him very uneaſy.

Sect.

Sect. VI. The remarkable Fickleneſs and Inſincerity of Courtiers.

I Had once an opportunity of ſeeing the ſteadineſs and gratitude of Courtiers put to trial, upon an apprehenſion of a change in the miniſtry. I was ſtrictly curious in my obſervations and inquiries; and my diſcoveries were ſuch, as have fully confirmed me in all my former and preſent ſentiments of theſe people. There were ſome who gave proofs of ſignal friendſhip and conſtancy to the ſtanding Miniſtry; ſeveral were wary and ſilent, but many made prepoſterous haſte to ſhew their levity and ſelfiſhneſs; and, from the behaviour of moſt, there aroſe warning enough, even to greatneſs itſelf, to rely for its beſt ſecurity upon wiſdom and innocence.

A little before the death of Tiberius, then paſt hopes, he was reported to be dead. Inſtantly the Courtiers crowded about Caligula the next heir, with a torrent of congratulations and zeal; and he was going forth, thus attended, to aſſume the pomp and exerciſe of Sovereignty, when ſudden tidings came, that the Emperor, who had lain ſome time in a ſwoon, was revived, and calling for ſome refreſhment to ſtrengthen his ſpirits. Inſtant terror ſeized all; moſt of them diſperſed and fled; ſome aſſumed an air of mourning; many feigned utter ignorance. Caligula was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, and, from the higheſt hopes, expecting his laſt doom. Macro only remained undaunted; he commanded the ancient Emperor to be ſmothered with a great weight of coverings, having firſt ordered every body to quit the chamber.

Amongſt the many good things, and excellent ſenſe in the Memoirs of Cardinal De Retz, there occur frequent pictures of the Court, particularly

upon the beginning of the Commotions in Paris. At the Palace Royal, and eſpecially in the Cabinet, upon that occaſion, every individual aſſumed a perſon, and acted a part. The Coadjutor acted the innocent and the dupe, but was not ſo. Mazarin affected to appear reſolute, but appeared more ſo than he was. By ſtarts and intervals the Queen counterfeited great temper and gentleneſs; yet had been at no time more bitter and enraged. The Duke De Longueville feigned extreme affliction, yet felt a ſenſible joy, as he was the man in the world the moſt delighted with the beginnings of all affairs. The Duke of Orleans, in ſpeaking to the Queen ſhewed great warmth and vehemence, but preſently after fell a whiſtling (a uſual habit of his) with all the indolence in the world. The Marſhal De Villeroy diſplayed gayety and unconcern, to make his Court to Mazarin; but to the Coadjutor he owned, with tears in his eyes, that the State was upon the brink of a precipice. Mr. De Beautru and Mr. De Nogent, played the buffoons, to humour the Queen, and drolled upon the commotion; though both theſe men knew well, that, in all probability, this farce of theirs would too ſoon be followed by a Tragedy. The Abbé De La Riviere only, though the moſt notorious poltron of the age, was perſwaded that this popular inſurrection was but ſmoke; this he maintained ſtifly to the Queen, and this pleaſed her. To fill up the compliment of Actors, the Marſhal De La Meilleraie, who had hitherto joined with the Coadjutor in repreſenting the terrors and conſequences of the tumult, all on a ſudden changed his paſt part, and took that of the Champion, with a different tone and other ſentiments; in an inſtant he was all rage, and contempt, and defiance. Mem. De Retz, vol. I. p. 122.

In ſhort, the Queen and the Cardinal took every one who told them truth, for a certain enemy to them-

themſelves, and for a promoter, at leaſt a ſecret well-wiſher, of the revolt. When this was the reward of plain-dealing, who would venture his place and favour by dealing plainly? Thus, for want of honeſt information, and ſincere adviſers, and by ſuſpecting or diſbelieving ſuch as were ſo, the State had nigh periſhed. The whole detail in De Retz is full of curious incidents, full of ſtrong and juſt reflections; as is almoſt the whole Book.

DISCOURSE X.

Of Armies and Conqueſt.

Sect. I. The Burden and Danger of maintaining great Armies.

TOO many Princes are infatuated with falſe notions of Glory, and thence delight in War. Without doubt it is true Glory to excel in war, where war is neceſſary; but in the whole courſe of Hiſtory, where one has been ſo, twenty have been otherwiſe; and to engage in it from the wantonneſs of Ambition, or for the ſake of Laurel, or through peeviſhneſs and humour, is to riſque the blood, and treaſure, and people, and being of a State, for the foppery of falſe Heroiſm: or to ſacrifice the ſame to the ſelfiſh and inglorious view of making a Country (either that which conquers, or that which is conquered, or both) the prey of the Hero. For ſuch has been generally the logic of the Sword, that becauſe it has ſaved, it may therefore oppreſs and enthral, and for defending a part, take the whole. Wars beget great Armies; Armies

beget great Taxes; heavy Taxes waſte and impoveriſh the Country, even where Armies commit no violences; a caſe ſeldom to be ſuppoſed, becauſe it has ſeldom happened. But where great Armies are, they muſt be employed, and do miſchief abroad, to keep them from doing it at home; ſo that the people muſt be exhauſted and oppreſſed to keep the men of the ſword in exerciſe.

The great Turk, to keep the ſwords of the Janizaries from his own throat, is forced to plague his neighbours, even where he earns nothing but blows and diſgrace; and thence increaſes the danger which he would avert; for, as by his Armies he makes all men ſlaves, he himſelf is a ſlave to his Armies, and often their victim; or, to eſcape himſelf, is frequently forced to ſatiate their fury by the blood of his braveſt Officers, and beſt Counſellors. If it be the Glory of his Monarchy, that he can put the greateſt men and all men to death, without reaſon, or form, or proceſs; he is ſubject in his own perſon to the ſame lawleſs and expeditious butchery, from his own outrageous ſlaves, who being not accuſtomed to receive any Law from him, give him none, whenever he is in their power, which is as often as they think fit; and he who is a Prince of ſlaves, is adjudged by ſlaves, and dies like the meaneſt ſlave. What is there to ſave him? His people who are oppreſſed, want the inclination, and being unarmed, the power. So that he lives in perſonal ſervitude to thoſe who are the inſtruments of public Servitude; and as others muſt die to pleaſe him, ſo muſt he to pleaſe them. It is the Law of retaliation, and operates as often as its cauſes operate, namely, caprice, or rage, or fear. This is the bleſſing of being abſolute, and unfettered by human conſtitutions; the ſame ſword which is lifted up for you, at the command of whim or paſſion, is with the like

like wantonneſs lifted up againſt you; and if you reign in blood, you muſt not think it ſtrange to die in it.

Sect. II. Great Armies the beſt diſciplined, whether thence the leſs formidable to a Country. Their Temper and Views.

IN regard to public Liberty, Armies the beſt diſciplined are not leſs to be dreaded than the worſt, but I think, more; ſince their relaxation of diſcipline takes away from their union and ſufficiency; it renders them weaker and leſs equal to mighty miſchief; but where they are ſtrict and united, the higheſt iniquities are not too big for them. Diſorderly Troops may rob particulars, ravage towns, and haraſs a Country; but if you would ſubdue Nations, commit univerſal ſpoil, and enſlave Empires, your forces muſt be under the beſt regulations. It was with an Army victorious and brave, and conſequently well diſciplined, that Agathocles ſlaughtered all the Nobles of Syracuſe, and brought that illuſtrious State (the nobleſt of all the Greek Cities) under bondage. Cromwell's conqueſt of his Country was made by Troops the moſt ſober and beſt diſciplined that this, or perhaps any other nation, had ever ſeen. And it was with the beſt of all the Roman Armies, that Cæſar eſtabliſhed himſelf Tyrant of Rome.

Soldiers know little elſe but booty, and blind obedience; whatever their intereſt, or rapacity dictates, they generally will do; and whatever their officers command, they muſt do. It is their profeſſion to diſpute by force, and the ſword; they too ſoon learn their own power, and where it is an overbalance for the Civil Power, it will always controul

the Civil Power, and all things [a]. They find readily ſomewhat to ſay; the ſtrongeſt is ever the beſt diſputant, when he carries his reaſons upon the point of his ſword [b]. They have done great ſervices, they have ſuffered great wrongs, and will therefore reward and redreſs themſelves. It is the reaſoning of Cæſar [c]. It is nothing to the purpoſe to ſay, that an Army liſted amongſt the natives, eſpecially the officers being natives, and many of them men of fortune, will never hurt or oppreſs their Country; for ſuch were Cromwell's Army, ſuch were Cæſar's, and many other enſlaving Armies; beſides Armies are ſoon modelled, and Officers who are obnoxious, are ſoon changed.

No Government can ſubſiſt but by force, and where-ever that force lies, there it is that Government is or ſoon will be. Free States therefore have preſerved themſelves, and their Liberties, by arming all their people, becauſe all the people are intereſted in preſerving thoſe Liberties; by drawing out numbers of them thus armed, to ſerve their Country occaſionally, and by diſſolving them (when that occaſion was over) into the maſs of the people again; by often changing the chief Officers, or, if they continued the ſame, by letting their commiſſions be temporary, and always ſubject to the controul of the ſupreme Power, often to that of other co-ordinate Power, as the Dutch Generals are to the Deputies. It is indeed but rare, that States who have not taken ſuch precaution, have not loſt their Li-

[a] Suâ in manu ſitam rem Romanam; ſuis victoriis augeri Rempublicam.

[b] Preces erant, ſed quibus contradici non poſſet.

[c] Hæc voluerunt: tantis rebus geſtis, C. Cæſar condemnatus eſſem, niſi ab exercitu auxilium petiſſem.

berties;

berties; their Generals have ſet up for themſelves, and turned the Arms put into their hands againſt their Maſters. This did Marius, Sylla, Cæſar, Dionyſius, Agathocles, Charles Martel, Oliver Cromwell, and many others; and this they all did by the ſame means: it is ſtill frequently done in the Eaſtern Monarchies; and by the ſame means all the Chriſtian Princes of Europe, who were arbitrary, became ſo. For as the experience of all ages ſhews us, that all men's views are to attain dominion and riches, it is ridiculous to hope, that they will not uſe the means in their power to attain them, and madneſs to truſt them with thoſe means. They will never want pretences, either from their own ſafety, or the public Good, to juſtify the meaſures which have ſucceeded; and they know well, that the ſucceſs will always juſtify itſelf; that great numbers will be found to ſanctify their power; moſt of the reſt will ſubmit to it, and in time will think it juſt and neceſſary; perhaps at laſt believe it to be obtained miraculouſly, and to have been the immediate act of Heaven.

Sect. III. Princes ruling by military Power, ever at the Mercy of military Men.

AS by theſe means private men often come at Sovereign Power; ſo limited Princes often become arbitrary; but one miſchief is inſeparable from this ſort of Government; they generally loſe their Authority by the ſame method they get it. For, having attained it by violence, they are obliged to keep it by violence; and that cannot be done but by engaging in the intereſt of their Oppreſſion a body of men, ſtrong enough to maintain it; and it will for the moſt part happen, that as theſe men have no intereſt but their own in ſerving a Tyrant,

ſo when that intereſt ceaſes, and they can ſerve themſelves better in deſtroying him, they ſeldom fail of doing it. In fact we find, that in all the great deſpotic Governments in the world the Monarchs are ſlaves to their ſoldiery, and they murder and depoſe their Princes juſt according to their caprices. The General ſets up any of the Princes of the blood, whom he thinks moſt for his intereſt, and oftentimes upon the death of the Poſſeſſor they are all ſet up, by one part of the Army or other, (if one cannot get all the reſt into his power, and murder them) and the Civil War continues, till one has ſlaughtered all his rivals.

If this is not done in the modern abſolute Governments of Europe, it is becauſe deſpotic Power is not ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed there, and the people have yet ſome ſhare of Property, and conſequently of Power; but ſtill they do it as much as they dare; in ſome inſtances they have ſet up themſelves, and in almoſt all have been the principal engines and inſtruments in working about Revolutions, according to their own inclinations and diſguſts. Of this we had many inſtances in our own Country, within the compaſs of not many years.

How much eaſier is it to corrupt a few leading Officers, often neceſſitous, generally ambitious, than to perſuade a whole Kingdom, if they are well governed, to deſtroy themſelves? Some will be diſobliged, becauſe not preferred to their wiſhes, or becauſe others are preferred before them; they will differ according to their countries or their intereſts about the perſon to be their General, and to have the power of preferring or recommending Officers; and that part which is diſappointed ſhall be a faction againſt that which ſucceeds. Where-ever Commiſſions are venal, there will be no difficulty of buying thoſe, who are diſaffected, into them, if they can diſguiſe

diſguiſe their diſaffection till a proper opportunity. In a Country where factions abound, and thoſe at the helm can find any account in keeping meaſures with a contrary faction, Officers will be put in to oblige that faction, ſometimes to gratify friends or favourites; at different times, others will be diſcarded, to oblige one party, or to mortify the other. New men, by private recommendation or money, ſhall ſupercede old Officers; this will create new diſſatisfactions and diſguſts, as ſoon as they dare ſhew them. When the Adminiſtration is changed, and another party gets uppermoſt, all thoſe things ſhall be done over again; ſo that at laſt an Army ſhall be a medley of all the factions of a Kingdom; and all their preferments and expectations depending upon the ſucceſs of thoſe factions; each individual will take every ſafe opportunity to advance his own; and for the moſt part one or other of theſe factions, ſometimes all, are ready to join in ſhuffling the cards anew; the ſure prelude of a Civil War.

This is and ever muſt be the caſe of all Countries which ſubſiſt by ſtanding Armies. For there are few inſtances in Hiſtory, to be given of Armies who did not play their own game, in times of diſtreſs; few inſtances of diſobliged or unpreferred Officers, who did not change ſides; too many have made their peace by ſome remarkable act of treachery; very often they have done it only from the motives of ambition and avarice. I wiſh that we never had had inſtances amongſt ourſelves of any who have done the ſame; or even of Generals who played a double game. What Oliver Cromwell, Monk, and very many both of the King's and of the Parliament Officers did in the Civil War, we all know, as well as what King James's Army did more lately: I wiſh we equally knew what intrigues of this kind have been carrying on ſince. In Civil

Wars amongſt men of the ſame Country, the communication is ſo eaſy between friends, relations and former acquaintance, that there is a very ready tranſition from one ſide to another; and a little ſucceſs, ſmall intrigues, and a few advantages generally make that tranſition.

Sect. IV. Inſtances of the Boldneſs and Fury of the Roman Soldiery.

IT is aſtoniſhing from what light and wanton motives, by what vile and contemptible inſtruments, Armies are often inſtigated to violence and ravages. The ſedition of that in Pannonia, after the death of Auguſtus, was raiſed by one common ſoldier, inflamed by another; rapine and maſſacres were committed or defended by almoſt all; they murdered their Officers; even their General had like to have been murdered, upon the credit of an impudent lie told by one of theſe vile incendiaries, who yet could ſcarce alledge any other grievance than that they had not too much pay, and too little diſcipline. Nor was the inſurrection, excited by theſe two fellows, reſtrained to the Pannonian Legions only, but extended to thoſe in Germany, who waxed into fury rather greater, and outraged all things human and divine.

It was one common ſoldier who gave the Empire to Claudius, by ſaluting him Emperor, while the poor daſtardly wretch was lurking in a corner, and expecting death inſtead of Sovereignty. Under Galba two private Centinels undertook to transfer the Empire to another, and actually transferred it. It is ſhocking to reflect with what eagerneſs theſe blood-thirſty aſſaſſins haſtened to murder that good old Prince, for no charge of miſgovernment, nor for defrauding them of their pay; but becauſe he would

would not exhauſt the Public to glut them with bounties. They were ſuch abandoned Ruffians, that they ſought to kill Marius Celſus, purely becauſe as he was an able and virtuous man, they judged him an enemy to themſelves who delighted only in blood, and wickedneſs, and ſpoil. It would require a volume to recount the behaviour, the treacherous and inhuman exploits of theſe ſons of violence thenceforward; their murdering and promoting of Emperors, ſometimes two or three, ſometimes more, once thirty at a time; their ſelling the Empire for money; their beſieging and threatning to maſſacre the Senate; their burning the Capitol, ſetting fire to the Imperial City, pillaging and butchering its inhabitants, and uſing them like ſlaves and captives; with other inſtances of their inſolence, barbarity, and miſrule. In the third and fourth Volumes of this Work much of this will be ſeen, recounted by Tacitus.

The Gothic Governments were military in their firſt ſettlement; the General was King, the Officers were the Nobles, and the Soldiers their Tenants; but by the nature of the ſettlement, out of an Army a Country Militia was produced. The Prince had many occaſional troops, but no ſtanding troops; hence he grew not abſolute, like the Great Turk; who having cantoned out the conquered Countries amongſt his horſemen, muſt by doing it have loſt his arbitrary Power, but that he kept a large body of men in arms, called the Janizaries.

Great Britain has preſerved its Liberties ſo long, becauſe it has preſerved itſelf from great ſtanding Armies; which, where-ever they are ſtrong enough to maſter their Country, will certainly firſt or laſt maſter it. Some troops we muſt have for guards and gariſons, enough to prevent ſudden Inſurrections, and ſudden Revolutions. What numbers are ſufficient

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for this, the experience of paſt times, and the ſenſe of our Parliaments, have ſhewn.

Sect. V. The Humour of conquering, how injudicious, vain, and deſtructive.

THE Athenians began the ruin of their State, by a mad and expenſive War upon Sicily; and from an ambition of conquering a people who had never offended them, expoſed themſelves to the attacks of the Lacedemonians, to the revolt of their own ſubjects, to domeſtic diſorders, and the change of their Government. And though upon the recalling of Alcibiades, they won ſome victories, and for a while made ſome figure; they were at laſt conquered intirely by Lyſander, their walls thrown down, the States ſubject to them ſet at liberty, and they themſelves ſubjected to the domination of thirty Tyrants. They never after recovered their former Glory. The Lacedemonians fell afterwards into the ſame warlike folly, and their folly had the ſame fate. By lording over Greece they drew upon themſelves a combination of Greek Cities, which together (eſpecially the Thebans under the famous Epaminondas) deſpoiled them of their Authority, ſoon after their triumph over Athens. The Thebans too abuſed their good fortune; they were equally fond of fighting and conqueſt, and by it drew another confederacy againſt them. In truth, every one of theſe States had been ſo long weakening themſelves, and one another, by their propenſity to War, that at laſt they fell under ſervitude to the Kings of Macedon, a Country formerly depending upon, or rather under vaſſalage to Athens and Sparta.

Theſe States acted like ſome of the Princes of our time; by truſting to their own ſuperior Proweſs, they

they invaded their neighbours, and taught them Art enough to beat themſelves. Thus the Muſcovite, by falling upon the late King of Sweden, yet in his minority, rouſed a tempeſt that had well nigh overturned his Throne; and thus that King, by refuſing the moſt honourable conditions of peace, and by urging his fate and revenge too far, taught the Ruſſians that bravery and diſcipline which nothing could ever teach them before; ſaw his own brave Army utterly routed by forces that he deſpiſed; himſelf driven from his dominions, and a fugitive in a Country of Infidels; and his Provinces cantoned out amongſt enemies, who, before he had tempted his good fortune to leave him, would have been glad to have compounded with him for a moiety of their own dominions.

Charles Duke of Burgundy had his head ſo turned with gaining the battle of Montl'hery, that he never liſtened afterwards to any counſel, but that of his own headſtrong humour; nor ceaſed plunging himſelf into Wars, till in that againſt the Switzers, who had given him no juſt provocation, he loſt his Army, his dominions, and his life. If Philip the ſecond had kept his oath with the Low Countries, he might have preſerved his Authority over them all. But nothing leſs would humour his pride than the ſubduing of their Liberties and Conſcience; and in defence of their Conſcience and Property, he drove them to the uſe of Arms, which a people employed in trade and manufacture, as they were, had no liſt to, nor ſkill in. Every body knows the iſſue; he loſt the ſeven Provinces and their Revenue for ever, with many millions of money, and almoſt half a million of lives thrown away to recover them. By his mighty and boaſted Armada deſigned to conquer England, what elſe did he conquer but his own Power at ſea? He had prepared, he had been for

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ſome years preparing, a naval force mighty as his own arrogance; but it all proved to be only meaſures taken for baffling his arrogance, and for deſtroying the maritime force of Spain; and all the while that he was vainly meditating the deſtruction of England, he was in reality taking the part of England againſt himſelf, and, with all his might, weakening its greateſt enemy. Had he husbanded that mighty ſtrength; had he employed it at times, and in parcels, againſt theſe dominions, he might have had ſome ſucceſs; but he combined againſt his own hopes.

How fooliſh is the reaſoning of paſſion! It leads men to throw away ſtrength to gain weakneſs. Even where theſe ſons of violence ſucceed, they may be juſtly ſaid to acquire nothing, beyond the praiſe of miſchief. What is the occupation and end of Princes and Governors, but to rule men for their good, and to keep them from hurting one another? Now what Conqueror is there who mends the condition of the conquered? Alexander the Great, though he well knew the difference between a limited and a lawleſs Monarchy, did not pretend, that his invaſion of Perſia was to mend the condition of the Perſians. It was a pure ſtruggle for dominion; when he had gained it, he aſſumed the Throne upon the ſame arbitrary terms upon which their own Monarchs had held it, nor knew any Law but his will. The ſubject only felt the violence of the change, without any benefit or relaxation from ſlavery. His Glory therefore is all falſe and deceitful, as is all Glory which is gained by the blood of men, without mending the ſtate of mankind. This ſpirit of fighting and conquering continued in his Succeſſors, who plagued the earth as he had done, and weltered in the blood of one another, till they were almoſt all deſtroyed by the ſword or poiſon, with the whole family of

of Alexander. It was no part of the diſpute amongſt them, which of them could beſtow moſt happineſs upon the afflicted world, about which they ſtrove, but who ſhould beſt exalt himſelf, and enſlave all.

The State of Carthage after many Countries conquered, but not bettered by her Arms, was almoſt diſſolved by her own barbarous Mercenaries, and at laſt conquered and deſtroyed by the Romans; who were in truth the moſt generous conquerors that the world has known: and moſt Countries found the Roman Government better than their own. This continued for ſome time, till their Provincial Magiſtrates grew rapacious, and turned the Provinces into ſpoil. Rome itſelf periſhed by her conqueſts, which being made by great Armies, occaſioned ſuch power and inſolence in their Commanders, and ſet ſome Citizens ſo high above the reſt, an inequality pernicious to free States, that ſhe was enſlaved by ingrates whom ſhe had employed to defend her. Rome vanquiſhed foreign nations; foreign luxury debauched Rome, and traiterous Citizens ſeized upon their mother with all her acquiſitions. All her great blaze and grandeur, ſerved only to make her wretchedneſs more conſpicious, and her chains more intenſely felt. Upon her thraldom there enſued ſuch a ſeries of Tyranny and miſery, treachery, oppreſſion, cruelty, death and affliction, in all ſhapes; that her agonies were ſcarce ever ſuſpended till ſhe finally expired. When her own Tyrants, become through Tyranny impotent, could no longer afflict her, for protection was none of their buſineſs; a hoſt of barbarians, only known for ravages, and acts of inhumanity, finiſhed the work of deſolation, and cloſed her civil doom. She has been ſince racked under a Tyranny more painful, as it is more ſlow; and more baſe, as it is ſcarce a domination of men; I mean her vaſſalage to a ſort of beings of

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all others the moſt mercileſs and contemptible, Monks and Spectres.

Sect. VI. The Folly of conquering further urged and exemplified.

THE Turks, like other Conquerors, know not when to leave off. They ſacrifice the people to gain more territories; and the more they conquer, the greater is their loſs. They laviſh men and treaſure, to gain waſte ground. What is the uſe of earth and water, where there are no Inhabitants for theſe elements to ſupport? The ſtrength of a Government conſiſts in numerous ſubjects induſtrious and happy; not in extent of territory deſolate or ill peopled, or peopled with inhabitants poor and idle. It is incredible what a profuſion of wealth and lives their attempts upon Perſia have coſt them, always with fatal ſucceſs, even under their wiſeſt and moſt warlike Princes; and at a time when their Empire flouriſhed moſt. Yet theſe attempts are continued, at a ſeaſon when their Affairs are at the loweſt; their Provinces exhauſted, their people and revenue decayed, their ſoldiery diſorderly, and all things conſpiring to the final diſſolution of their Empire.

Thoſe who will be continually exerting their whole ſtrength, whether they be ſocieties or particular men, will at laſt have none to exert. The Turks have been for ages waſting their vitals to widen their extremities, and to extend their limbs; which, by being unnaturally ſtretched, are quite disjointed and benumbed for want of nouriſhment from the ſeat of life; and muſt therefore, like mortified members, ſoon drop off; they have been long ſpinning out their own vitals. Now if they had conquered Perſia, what benefit would the conqueſt have derived to the Perſians? None at all; but

but on the contrary, freſh oppreſſion, and probably perſecution; ſince the Turks deem them Heretics for the colour of their caps, and for their obſtinate refuſal to change one name for another in the liſt of Mahomet's Succeſſors.

Thus theſe Barbarians deſtroy themſelves to deſtroy others; and Chriſtian Princes imitate theſe Barbarians. The Spaniard, to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of America, deſtroyed more lives than he had ſubjects in Europe; and his mighty Empire there, with his mountains of treaſure, bears indeed an awful ſound; yet it is allowed that he has loſt much more than he got, beſides the crying guilt of murdering a large part of the Globe. His conqueſts there, together with his expulſion of the Moors at home, have diſpeopled Spain; and the inhabitants who remain truſting to their American wealth, are too proud and lazy to be induſtrious; ſo that moſt of their gold goes to other nations for the manufactures wanted in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies. Hence multitudes and diligence (and diligence often creates multitudes, as by multitudes diligence is created) are better than mountains of gold, and will certainly attract ſuch mountains; though others have the name and firſt property. Had he kept the induſtrious Moors, and expelled the barbarous Inquiſitors; encouraged Liberty and Trade, and conſequently Liberty of Conſcience, Spain would have been a more powerful nation, and he conſequently a greater King, than all his wide and guilty conqueſts have made him. Sir Walter Raleigh ſays, that the Low Countries alone did, for revenue, equal his Weſt-Indies. Notwithſtanding his many Kingdoms, his Empire in both Hemiſpheres, and that the ſun never ſets upon all his dominions at once, the ſmall Republic of Holland, ſmall in compaſs of territory, has been an overmatch for him.

A late neighbouring Prince was a buſy Conqueror. But did his People and Country gain by his conqueſts? He drained them of men and money by millions, only to add to their poverty ſervitude and wretchedneſs, and from their chains and miſery derived his own Glory. Nor do I know any reaſon why a Prince, who reduces his People, his Nobles, and all degrees of men in his dominions, to poverty and littleneſs, ſhould have the title of Great, unleſs for the greatneſs of the evils which he brought upon his own Kingdom and all Europe. Let the late and preſent condition of that Monarchy declare, what advantages that noble Country owes to his Glory and Victories. Had it not been for his wanton Wars and oppreſſive Taxes, there is no pitch of felicity which the goodneſs of their ſoil and climate, the number and induſtry of the natives, their many manufactures, and the advantage of their ſituation, might not have raiſed them to. But all was ſacrificed to the Ambition and Bigotry of one. How many reſources that kingdom has within itſelf; and to what happineſs it is capable of riſing under a juſt and gentle Adminiſtration, is manifeſt from the ſuddenneſs with which it recovered itſelf under the good Government of Henry the fourth; how many millions it paid, how many put into the Exchequer; and what a flouriſhing condition it was arrived to, after ſo fierce, ſo long, and ſo conſuming a Civil War, and after two ſuch profuſe and profligate Reigns, as that of Charles the Ninth, and that of Henry the Third. But what avails all this, when one ſhort Edict, and the maggot of a minute, can diſſipate all its wealth and all its happineſs?

I might here diſplay what ridiculous cauſes do often pique and awaken the vanity and ambition of Princes, and prompt them to laviſh lives and treaſure, and utterly undo thoſe whom they ſhould tenderly

derly protect. For a beaſt of burden, or even for the tooth of a beaſt; for a miſtreſs, for a river, for a ſenſeleſs word haſtily ſpoken, for words that had a fooliſh meaning, or no meaning at all; for an empty ſepulchre or an empty title; to dry the tears of a coquette, to comply with the whims of a pedant, or to execute the curſes of a bigot; important Wars have ſometimes been waged, and nations animated to deſtroy one another; nor is there any ſecurity againſt ſuch deſtructive follies, where the ſenſe of every man muſt acquieſce in the wild paſſion of one; and where the intereſt and peace, and preſervation of a State, are found too light to balance his rage or caprice. Hence the policy of the Romans to tame a people not eaſy to be ſubdued; they committed ſuch to the domination of Tyrants. Thus they did in Armenia, and thus in Britain.[e] And theſe inſtruments did not only enſlave their ſubjects, but by continual fighting with one another, conſume them,

Neceſſary Wars are accompanied with evils more than enough; and who can bear or forgive calamities courted and ſought? The Roman State owed her greatneſs in a good meaſure to a misfortune; it was founded in War, and nouriſhed by it. The ſame may be ſaid of the Turkiſh Monarchy. But States formed for peace, though they do not arrive to ſuch immenſity and grandeur, are more laſting and ſecure; witneſs Sparta and Venice. The former laſted eight hundred years, and the other has laſted twelve hundred, without any Revolution; what errors they both committed, were owing to their attempts to conquer, for which they were not

[e] Quædam civitates regi Cogiduno donatæ; vetere ac jampridem recepta populi Romani conſuetudine, ut haberet inſtrumenta ſervitutis & reges.

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formed ; though the Spartans were exceeding brave and victorious ; but they wanted the Plebs ingenua, which formed the ſtrength of the Roman Armies ; as the Janizaries, a militia formerly excellently trained and diſciplined, formed thoſe of the Turk. With the latter, fighting and extending their dominions, is an article of their Religion, as falſe and barbarous in this as in many of its other principles, and as little calculated for the good of men.

The END of the FOURTH VOLUME.

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